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# ***JPRS Report***

## **China**

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***RED FLAG***

No 11, 1 JUNE 1987

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# CHINA

## RED FLAG

No 11, 1 June 1987

[Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal HONGQI of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.]

## CONTENTS

Study Deng Xiaoping's Thoughts on Reform (p 2) .....	1
The Whole Society Should Be Concerned About and Protect Children's Healthy Growth--Speech at the '1 June' Forum of Children's Workers (30 May 1987) (pp 3-5) (Li Peng) .....	3
A Talk About the Need To Adhere to the Socialist Road in Light of Shanghai's Development (pp 6-12) (Jiang Zemin) .....	8
Deepen the 'Double Increase and Double Economy' Movement (pp 13-15) (Xue Ju) .....	21
The Question of Party Style for a Ruling Party (pp 16-19) (Commentator) .....	26
The 'Talks' Have Unlimited Vitality (pp 20-21) (Huang Zhen) .....	33
The 'Talks' Light My Road of Creation (pp 21-24) (Cao Ming) .....	36
Wulanmuqi, a Flower That Is Always in Full Bloom on the Grassland (pp 24-28) (Cultural Department of Nei Monggol Autonomous Region) .....	41

Striking Deep Root in the Reality of the People's Life (pp 28-29) (Jia Jun).....	48
Preschool Education Is the Engineering That Lays the Foundations for Training a Generation of New People (pp 30-33) (Deng Hongxun).....	51
Talking About the Question of Comprehensive Historiographical Research (pp 34-38) (Chen Yuning).....	57
Expositions on Several Important Views in the Revised and Enlarged Edition of 'Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics' (pp 39-45) (HONGQI Theoretical Education Editorial Office).....	65
Foreword.....	65
I. Concerning the Building of Socialism With Chinese Characteristics.....	67
Modesty Is Always a Virtue (p 46) (Xie Chunchang).....	79
Beginning the Talk With a Case of Boasting and Exaggeration (pp 47-48) (Yao Zhian).....	81
Grasp 'Advance' and 'Retreat' in the Course of 'Destruction' and 'Construction' (p 48) (Wang Zhonghua).....	84
'Etiquette Song of the Young Pioneers' (inside back cover) (Wang Sen, Wang Yutian).....	86

/6091

## STUDY DENG XIAOPING'S THOUGHTS ON REFORM

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] The task of persevering in and deepening the reforms while carrying out opposition to bourgeois liberalization in depth demands that we restudy Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thoughts on reform and further enhance understanding of reform and opening up.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thoughts on reform are extremely abundant and reflect our party's new understanding and contributions to socialist practice and theory as a result of summing up the experiences of history. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has profoundly pointed out: "If we say we have summed up very many experiences, then one of the most important experiences is that we must really understand what socialism is and how to build it." "The primary task for socialism is to develop the productive forces and gradually improve people's material and cultural living standards." The policy of reform and opening up practiced since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is precisely based on this primary task in building socialism, and the results we have achieved in this respect have commanded world attention. Practice has proven that erroneous views of doubting and taking a reserved attitude toward reform and opening up are untenable. The disturbances of last year should not affect reform and opening up; we should not only persevere in reform and opening up but we should also speed them up. This is because only by carrying out reforms and opening up can we fully arouse the enthusiasm of all sectors to work hard to invigorate the economy and extricate ourselves from poverty. And the building of socialist spiritual civilization, democracy, and the legal system can only proceed smoothly in the course of reform and opening up and developing the productive forces. If we do not carry out reforms and opening up, the development of the productive forces will be shackled, people's material and cultural living standards cannot be improved, and this will restrict us in our efforts to display the superiority of socialism. This would not meet the demands of socialism.

An important point in studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thoughts on reform is to learn how to apply the correct viewpoint to look at reforms and to analyze and study the new situations and problems in reform and construction. In judging whether a reform measure is practical and whether it is progressive or



retrogressive, we must in the final analysis, see whether it is compatible with the demands of the development of the productive forces. China is still in the initial stage of socialism and the level of its productive forces remains very low. The major reforms undertaken since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, including practicing planned commodity economy, the principle of separating ownership from operational powers, the plant manager responsibility system, the contracted management and leasing systems in the enterprises, the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with payment linked to output in the rural areas, and the development of individual economy and the introduction of foreign investment and so on are all aimed at promoting the development of the productive forces. We have investigated the necessity of unifying the productive forces with the production relations. It is not a Marxist viewpoint to study production relations in isolation from the development of the productive forces; such as practice cannot correctly explain the practical questions raised in our current policies and in reform and opening up and still less can it correctly guide the practice of reform and opening up.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thoughts on reform and opening up and adherence to the four cardinal principles that he has repeatedly emphasized constitute an integral whole based on reality, contained in the general structure of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The four cardinal principles as our basic principles, and reform and opening up as our general guideline and policy for carrying out socialist modernization form the two basic points in the line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The two are as close as lips and teeth, and promote each other. To set the two against each other and exclude one or the other does not accord with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thoughts on reform and with the line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. If we fail to adhere to the four cardinal principles, we are bound to slide into bourgeois liberalization, and it will then be impossible to carry on with reforms and opening up; similarly, without reform and opening up, it will be impossible to achieve the goal of the four modernizations, the productive forces will remain in a backward state for a long time, we will be unable to extricate ourselves from poverty for a long time, and there will be little attraction in socialism. This is bound to assist the growth of bourgeois liberalization and resulting doubt and wavering regarding the four cardinal principles, and the four cardinal principles could thus not be upheld well. There must be unity between understanding and action. We must both deepen the struggle against bourgeois liberalization and also continually deepen the reforms and opening up, gradually speeding up the reforms. This is our conclusion.

/6091

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THE WHOLE SOCIETY SHOULD BE CONCERNED ABOUT AND PROTECT CHILDREN'S HEALTHY GROWTH--SPEECH AT THE '1 JUNE' FORUM OF CHILDREN'S WORKERS (30 MAY 1987)

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 3-5

[Article by Li Peng]

[Text] Comrades:

Today, the party Central Committee Secretariat is holding a forum here of children's workers. Children's workers, old and new and from all fronts, have gathered here to discuss the important task of cultivating and educating the new generation of children at a time when we are upholding the four cardinal principles, conducting reforms, and opening our country to the outside world. This will no doubt receive the support and close attention of the whole society.

Just a moment ago, the National Children's Work Coordinating Committee and the Children's Foundation of China awarded "Warm Love for Children" honorable medals to Sun Jingxiu and three other comrades who have been engaged in and made outstanding contributions to children's work. This is a matter worth celebrating by all of us. On behalf of the party Central Committee and the State Council, I wish to take this opportunity to pay high respects and extend cordial regards to you comrades who are present here and, through you, to those who are doing children's work in all parts of the country!

With the advance of China's four modernizations, our children's work has been developing vigorously, with new achievements scored one after another. Children's education is being strengthened, cultural and art work for children is developing step by step, and sports goods and daily necessities needed by them are increasingly available. Moreover, the contingent of children's workers is developing and growing steadily. Now, more and more people have come to understand the importance of the work of educating children, and an educational environment comprising the three elements of school, family, and society and conducive to children's mental and physical health is gradually coming into being. However, these achievements, if appraised by the requirements of our times and the demands of the people and party, are far from adequate. Children's education is a fundamental task and one of prime importance for improving the quality of our whole nation and the prospects of our socialist cause for a long time to come. To enable the young generation

of children to grow and become reliable successors carrying on our socialist construction, we still have to exert great efforts.

What we have devoted ourselves to is the greatest cause in human history. It is also an arduous and long-term cause. What is needed is continuous struggle by successive generations of our people so that our ideals will be ultimately realized. Children are a generation that will carry on our unfinished tasks and blaze the way to the future. To cultivate and educate our children successfully so that they will grow up healthily is a matter of fundamental importance for a hundred, or even a thousand, years. It was because of this strategic consideration that Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward the instruction that "education should be geared to modernization, the world, and the future." Guided by the general principle of upholding the four cardinal principles and persisting in conducting reforms and opening our country to the outside world, the people nationwide are presently building socialism with Chinese characteristics, with the aim of making China comparatively well off by the end of this century and approaching the level of moderately developed countries in the world by the middle of the next century. Fulfillment of this strategic task depends, to a great extent, on today's children. To achieve this strategic aim and for the sake of the prosperity and welfare of our country and people, our children must be a new generation characterized by lofty ideals, morality, education, and a high sense of discipline. Hence, it is imperative to give full attention to children's education work no matter from what angle we view it. Every comrade concerned about our country's future development and every Marxist should realize the importance of this work in view of the above-mentioned strategic consideration.

To show concern for and protect children so as to ensure their healthy growth, basic education for children should be strengthened to allow them to develop in an all-round way--morally, intellectually, physically, and aesthetically, and possessed of the sense of the dignity of labor. Basic education should start with teaching children to love their motherland, people, labor, science, and socialism. We should strengthen education aimed at cultivating children's lofty ideas as well as their love for revolutionary tradition, the collective, and labor. This includes efforts to teach children to observe law and discipline, derive pleasure from helping others, and wage hard struggle. Of course, this type of education is only rudimentary.

It should be conducted in a way acceptable to children, proceeding gradually based on children's perception of their world. To instill lofty ideals in children, we should arouse their powerful desire for and pursuit of a good society, and let them know the difficulties and complications involved so they will persistently strive to achieve socialist ideals, and eventually achieve the grand ideal of communism. Children should be taught to correctly understand ideals, for men of ideals to make outstanding contributions to the state and the people at their respective work posts, whether they are workers, peasants, experts, or scholars. In conducting education on revolutionary tradition, children should be guided to emulate the heroic spirit of their predecessors of not fearing sacrifice in striving for the liberation of the Chinese people. When children understand the difficulties of the past, they will feel happy about their life at present; more

importantly, they will learn about the sacrificial spirit of their predecessors in creating a new world and new life and opening up a bright future. Education on collectivism is the foundation of socialist and communist moral education. It is necessary to teach children to correctly handle the individual's relationship with the collective and with other people so they will keep in mind the well-being of other people, the collective, the nation, and the motherland; show concern for the collective; and feel enthusiastic about serving the collective. It is also necessary to carry out intellectual and physical education for children and inspire their quest for knowledge so they will consciously study scientific knowledge and exercise so as to remain physically fit.

To ensure the sound development of children, we should improve our ideological education to make it conform more to reality and be more effective. There are many factors that impair the efficiency of education at present. Two major ones are: 1) The concept of education is not right. Undue stress is placed on intellectual education to the neglect of moral education. Teachers, parents, and students are concerned only with getting students into higher education. One-sided stress is placed on getting a higher percentage of students admitted to higher education, thereby failing to attach due importance to ideological and moral education. 2) Ideological education is divorced from reality, and the characteristics of children have not been taken into consideration. It is rather adult oriented. To solve these problems requires a great deal of down-to-earth work. To straighten out educational concepts, we should start with the thinking and understanding of party and government leading cadres at all levels so that leading cadres, principals, teachers, and parents will consciously follow the educational principle of ensuring all-round development of children. Next, we should constantly explore and improve the forms and methods of education. Today's children are a lot different from children of the past. They have broader vision and knowledge, and are mentally more active. Many of them are from one-child families, and the percentage of such children will keep growing. How to conduct ideological education that conforms with the characteristics of contemporary children is the new task facing us. Therefore, education should proceed from the realities of today's children so that the substance of education will be implanted in the hearts and minds of children in ways acceptable to them. We should prepare them for understanding of society, and, through observation and comparison of social phenomena, enable them to widen their knowledge and understand why we should love our motherland and the people, uphold the four cardinal principles, and adhere to the general principle of carrying out reform and opening to the outside world. Children should also be encouraged to participate in housework and social work within their capabilities, in order to form the habit of doing manual work. Parents and teachers should avoid overindulgence in children. They should know that flowers cultivated in a hothouse cannot withstand a storm. To strengthen ideological education for children, we should also fully tap their potential, and, through the assistance of the Young Pioneers organization, arouse their initiative and enthusiasm. Comrade Zhao Ziyang said: "The Young Pioneers educate children through colorful activities. It is a vast and vivid classroom and is very attractive to children."



It is necessary to systematically formulate the Young Pioneers' educational outline in accordance with the characteristics of children's psychological and intellectual development, the actual situation in our country, and the various age levels. The CYL organizations and the educational administrations must bring the Young Pioneers organization's educational role into full play and organize the vast numbers of children to launch educational activities through practical work. These activities must be able to reflect the characteristics of the times and strengthen the children's initiative and creative spirit.

The whole society must make joint efforts to help children develop in a healthy way. Bringing up children is society's common responsibility and obligation. Education of children is rudimentary education. The quality of education in this period has a direct bearing on all stages of a child's growth in the future. Good education can benefit one a great deal throughout one's lifetime, while bad influences will become hidden perils even in one's childhood. We must propose in society the good practice of cherishing and educating children, setting an example for them, and doing substantial work for them. Currently, many veteran cadres and party members throughout China are devoting their remaining years to the great cause of educating the next generation. Vast numbers of commanders and fighters of the PLA have done a great deal of substantial work for children's healthy growth and become their most intimate and respected persons. Vast numbers of education workers have taken infinite pains and worked industriously without attracting public attention to nurture and bring up numerous fine students. In addition, people in all fields who have fulfilled their duty to children are all models society can learn from.

Children have great flexibility and are very imitative. They often get acquainted with the world, learn how to live, increase knowledge, and receive education through the words, deeds, and manners of their own teachers, parents, and other members of society, from the general mood of society, and from the cultural environment until their own ideas and thoughts take shape. All party members, the whole society, and all citizens must consciously and purposefully create a fine social environment for their growth so they can receive good education in a vigorous, healthy, and vivid environment. Not long ago, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization appeared in society. Some tabloids, magazines, recorded tapes, and videotapes which are absurd and obscene in content are in poor taste, and some feudal bad habits, are directly corroding children's physical and mental health. All citizens who are truly concerned about the motherland's future and destiny must justly, forcefully, and resolutely boycott this erroneous trend and behavior. Our publishing houses, broadcasting stations, film studios, TV stations, and children's centers should try their best to provide children with wholesome books, programs, and activities, and all citizens should fully shoulder their responsibilities. To help children grow in a healthy way, we must first educate ourselves. Only by continuously improving one's own quality as an adult, setting an example, and teaching by personal example and verbal instruction can one be really worthy of the name of teacher, light up children's ideals with his own lofty ideals, enlighten children's minds with his own fine ideas and character, and nurture children's growth with his own

wisdom. To help children grow up in a healthy way, we must also struggle against all phenomena imperiling children. Currently, in a few places children are being kidnapped and sold, while in some other places there is child labor. These are law-breaking activities not permitted by our socialist system. Our party and government administrations, judicial departments, women's federations, the CYL and the Young Pioneers organizations at every level must make unremitting efforts to safeguard children's legitimate rights and interests and resolutely struggle against all law violations. In short, we must make efforts in all fields to turn education in school and society as well as family education into a powerful educational network.

Public health departments must strengthen children's health care work so they can healthily grow up with the common concern and protection of the whole society.

At today's forum are outstanding children's workers of the older generation, middle-aged children's workers who are shouldering important responsibilities, and vigorous and enthusiastic youths. I wish to extend my greetings to all of you and to the tens of millions of children's workers across the country. To nurture the motherland's next generation, you have worked hard with all your heart and mind and made very fruitful contributions. You ought to be trusted by the people and respected by society. The party wants to thank you! The people want to thank you! I believe that when you make common efforts together with all party members, the whole society, and the people of all nationalities, our children will certainly grow healthily so there will be no lack of successors to carry on our great construction cause.

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A TALK ABOUT THE NEED TO ADHERE TO THE SOCIALIST ROAD IN LIGHT OF SHANGHAI'S DEVELOPMENT

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 86 pp 6-12

[Article by Jiang Zemin [3058 3419 3046]]

[Text] Shanghai is one of our country's largest economic centers and is also a well-known metropolis in the world. Before liberation, it was a miniature of old China, centrally reflecting the major conflicts and various kinds of maladies of a colonial, semicolonial, and semifeudalist society. Since liberation, Shanghai has become our country's important economic center and industrial base and its development has fully demonstrated the vitality and strong points of the socialist system. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shanghai has been considered an important window of our country's reform and opening to the outside world. It has further illustrated our strength and confidence in firmly insisting on taking the socialist road with Chinese characteristics.

I. Thoughts on History in Retrospect: A Vertical Comparison

Mao Zedong pointed out: "The history of imperialism's encroachment on China, opposition to China's independence and opposition to China's development of capitalism is also China's contemporary history." (Mao Zedong: "New Democracy") The history of imperialism's encroachments on Shanghai has verified this point. After the 1840 Opium War, the imperialist powers, through unequal treaties, forced the Qing government to open up Shanghai as a "commercial port," establish "settlements" there and used Shanghai as a bridgehead to encroach on China. Through Shanghai port, they greatly pillaged China's inland resources and at the same time employed Shanghai as a base on which to dump commodities into the interior. They also carried out their pillages by capital exports. According to statistics, on the eve of World War II, the gross volume of the imperialists' investments in old China was \$4.3 billion of which the great proportion was centralized in such ports and cities as Shanghai and Tianjin. For example, in 1930, 42.8 percent of imperialism's capital investments in China were concentrated in Shanghai. Before the anti-Japanese war, in all of China outside of the northeastern provinces, 79.2 percent of all the imperialist banks' investments, 81.2 percent of its import and export trade and commerce, 67.1 percent of its industries and 67.8 percent of its real estate holdings were concentrated in

Shanghai. As for China's capitalist industries, in the 40 to 50 years since their inception in the 1860's and 1870's up to 1911, the gross volume of their capital was only a little over 140 million yuan. During World War I, the imperialist powers were busy with production of war material. They reduced their commodity exports to China and as a result this gave a breathing space for the development of China's national industries. In the 8 years from 1912 to 1919, newly added capital amounted to 140 million yuan. However, toward the end of the European war [World War I], particularly in the 1930's, imperialism, in an effort to shift the crisis to other countries, dumped large quantities of surplus commodities on the China market and, as a result, the development of China's national industries was greatly affected. At that time, two-thirds of all the country's national industries were concentrated in Shanghai. However, in 1934 only 28 new plants were established in Shanghai, while 291 plants were reorganized, and 70 plants closed their doors. In 1936, 42 new plants were established in the city, 420 plants were reorganized, and 133 plants closed their doors. Some of the plants, though not yet closed, were heavily in debt and their utilization capacity was very low.

During the Japanese occupation the national industries were directly plundered. In the occupied areas 87 percent of the cotton mills owned by Chinese merchants were taken away by Japanese bandits under the pretext of "entrusted operations." Following the victory of the anti-Japanese war, U.S. goods were so widespread that they monopolized the China market. For example, 80 percent of the goods put on sale by Wing On Company were U.S. products. Thus, Shanghai's national industries suffered another serious blow. Originally there were 4,050 plants in Shanghai. By 1946, 3,160 plants had closed their doors and in 1947 the utilization capacity was only 20 percent. Literally speaking, on the eve of liberation China's national capital funds were on the verge of annihilation.

History has told us that the purpose of imperialism's aggressions in China was definitely not to transform it from a feudalist into a capitalist society. Rather, it was to convert China into their colony. In the semicolonial and semifeudal old China, there was no road to independently developing capitalism. It was only under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, through the arduous and spectacular struggles and sacrifices of all the people in overthrowing the three big mountains and taking the socialist road that Shanghai has at last been reborn.

After new China's establishment and under the leadership of the Communist Party, Shanghai confiscated the bureaucratic capitalist enterprises and established a state-run economy. The state seized the economic lifeline and on that basis carried out the socialist transformation of the capitalist industry and commerce. At the same time, the party and the government began to liquidate the social trash left over by the old society and transformed old Shanghai, under the nickname "adventurers' paradise," into a thriving socialist new Shanghai.

From 1950 to 1957, the party and the government arranged employment for 606,000 people (the number of registered unemployed during the early period of liberation; prior to 27 May 1949, 420,000 people had registered as



unemployed). This basically solved the unemployment problem left over from the old society. The establishment of the socialist system stimulated the working people's enthusiasm for socialism, converted it into enormous material strength and promoted the development of society's productive forces. During the "First 5-Year Plan" we principally relied on our own strength, and also on support from the Soviet Union and other friendly countries, to set up a number of basic industries which were essential for the country's industrialization and which in the past had been in an extremely weak state. As a result, the national economy developed enormously. At that time, the average annual growth rates of the major targets of Shanghai's economic development were as follows: gross national product, 13.8 percent; gross output of industry and agriculture, 14.1 percent; national income, 13.8 percent; cargo-handling volume of ports, 24.1 percent; investments in fixed assets, 23.1 percent; construction of completed residences, 28.9 percent; gross value of export trade commodities, 30.7 percent; and the municipality's financial revenues, 18.9 percent. At the same time, the people's standard of living was greatly improved. All this fully demonstrates that the socialist road has led Shanghai to growth and prosperity.

The years 1956 to 1966 were the 10 years when we launched full-scale socialist construction in the country. There were errors in-between but the results that were accomplished can be confirmed by everybody. During this period, Shanghai set up a motorcar manufacturing industry, a wristwatch industry, an electronics industry, a heavy electrical machines industry and developed a cotton mill industry, a shipbuilding industry and a chemical industry. The Min Hang industrial sector and a large number of backbone enterprises such as the Shanghai Steam Turbines Plant, the heavy machinery plant, electrical machinery plant, boiler plant, etc. were all established and developed during this period. At that time, the city not only produced wristwatches and small motorcars which old China could not produce, but also successfully manufactured advanced and large equipment such as 10,000-ton hydraulic pressure machines, and dual internal water-cooling power generators. In 1966, compared with 1956, steel output increased by 550 percent, the production of machine tools increased by 280 percent, crude oil processing increased by 660 percent, and the gross output of industry and agriculture increased by 160 percent. A vast change took place in Shanghai's economic composition. It developed from a city with a weak foundation and a deformed structure into a city of a productive nature which has a relatively complete set of different branches of industries and in which the large, medium-size and small enterprises are organizationally integrated, cooperation and coordination conditions are fairly strong, and agriculture is fairly well developed and has become the country's important industrial base. During the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," Shanghai was one of the cities in the country which suffered most from the interferences and wreckages done by the "gang of four." Great damage was done to its economy and social order.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shanghai has begun a new period, witnessing the most thriving vitality in economic development. Under the general theme of the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, Shanghai's economy has achieved sustained and stable development. In 1986, compared to 1978, GNP increased by 79.6 percent, the

gross output of industry and agriculture increased by 75.1 percent, and national income increased by 73.1 percent. During this period, as a result of relying on technological progress, the strengthening of enterprise management, and the readjusting of the structure of products, industrial production increased steadily. Compared with 1978, the output volume of steel, cement, power generating equipment, and steel vessels for civilian use all grew by over 50 percent. The increase in the production of filature industries was even more rapid. In particular, the output of durable consumer goods urgently needed by the urban and rural population increased rapidly. For example, the production of television sets, recorders and electric fans increased respectively by 1,100 percent, 7,200 percent, and 3,200 percent. The people's standard of living was also noticeably improved. The average salaries and wages (including bonuses and allowances) of staff members and workers in 1986 increased by 140 percent over 1978. The savings deposits of urban and rural residents in 1986, compared with 1952 and 1978, increased respectively by 3,900 percent and 400 percent. Investments in residences in 1986 increased by 6,680 percent over 1952 and by 43.5 percent over 1978. During only the "Sixth 5-Year Plan" (1981-1985) the number of residences built and completed was equivalent to the total area of house-building in the 30 years since the founding of the republic and to the residential construction area in the municipality in 1949. The life expectancy in Shanghai in 1985 reached the average level of the world's developed countries (the average life span of the world's population is 62 years, that of developed countries, 73 years, and that of Shanghai, 74 years).

It was during this period that the economic structure reform, centered on enterprise invigoration, broke the pattern of the old economic structure and a start was made in the direction of development suited to a planned commodity economy. This injected new vitality into Shanghai's economy. At the same time, the development of lateral economic associations closely linked Shanghai with its fraternal areas in economic exchange and cooperation. By the end of 1986, Shanghai had already concluded over 5,000 kinds of economic associations with other provinces and municipalities. In Shanghai, over 800 stores and plants had also been set up by various localities. In lateral economic associations a number of enterprise bodies and groups appeared which took the production of a well-known brand-name product as the dragon head. Under the precondition of maintaining and protecting the strong points of the cities' own industries and trade their operations reached across many localities and departments and the constituents were under different systems of ownership. Thus Shanghai's radiating function as a central city began to be displayed.

Enforcing the policy of opening to the outside world enabled Shanghai's economy to make a strategic change from the semiclosed to an open one. In the 1950's, in Shanghai there was only one Sino-foreign jointly financed enterprise. Now (until the end of the first quarter of this year) there were 242 enterprises invested in by foreign merchants. In 1986, the gross value of Shanghai's export trade increased by 69.7 percent over 1978.

For the purpose of building Shanghai into a base which can greatly attract foreign merchants, possess a strong capacity to digest advanced technology,

serve as an external economic liaison nucleus which can quickly respond to the demands of the international market, and develop exports and increase foreign exchange earnings, Shanghai's external economic exchanges and dealings have developed from doing relatively simple foreign trade in the past to the development now of a diversified form of activities such as utilizing foreign capital, introducing and importing technology, contracting for foreign engineering and construction works and exporting technological services.

In retrospect, Shanghai's development and changes make us deeply realize that only through firmly insisting on the four basic principles, and on the general guidelines and policy of reform and opening to the outside can Shanghai prosper and can the people be well off and happy. Not to insist on the four basic principles, then the reform and opening to the outside cannot be sustained and without reform and opening to the outside it would be difficult to insist on the four basic principles. It is necessary to insist on both as neither one can be forsaken. Shanghai's actual practices have also amply shown that the CPC Central Committee's line of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and its guideline and policy in this connection are entirely correct. Precisely as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We are now on the right road, the people are happy, and we are confident."

## II. Thoughts on Viewing the World From Shanghai: A Lateral Comparison

A vertical comparison makes us clearly understand the superior nature of our country's socialist system. Making a lateral comparison, that is, comparing two social systems, likewise makes us affirm our confidence in following a socialist road with Chinese characteristics. Due to social and economic development involving extremely complex procedures, a scientific comparison must be historical, cover the full range, take into consideration the innate nature and constantly developed. The purpose is to display our own strong points, and at the same time absorb others' beneficial experiences and thus invigorate our economy.

In comparison with those developing capitalist countries and regions whose national conditions are more or less the same as those of our country, it may be found that in the rate of economic development and in the improvement in people's standard of living, and so forth, our country is ahead. After over 30 years, thanks to the efforts made by people of the whole country, we have established a relatively integrated national economic structure and industrial structure, are fairly strong nationally, our international prestige is constantly increasing and internationally we have become a force to be reckoned with. In particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the establishment of a socialist road, guideline and basic principle with Chinese characteristics have gone through actual practices and, in the course of the actual practices, have been constantly enriched and developed. We have achieved construction records which are more outstanding than those of any other period since the founding of the republic. National economic strength has been greatly enhanced and, in the course of the reform and opening to the outside, the people's creative ability and the strong points of the socialist system have been displayed daily, much to the

admiration and respect of other world societies. As a constituent part of socialist China, Shanghai likewise has received world attention. All this has made us feel glorious and happy.

In discussing the strong points of socialism some comrades have raised the following issue. Originally Hong Kong was behind Shanghai. Why are many of its economic targets now higher than those of Shanghai? Both Shanghai and Hong Kong are well-known ports in the world. Both of them have an advantageous geographical location and after the Opium War both gradually developed and prospered with trade as the central force. In the 1930's, Shanghai surpassed Hong Kong in its development. At the conclusion of World War II, both in city scale and economic strength, Hong Kong was still behind Shanghai. After the war, Hong Kong's economy developed rapidly. This was due to many factors.

Looking at the historical factors, first, after the whole country's liberation in 1949, a large number of people from the interior surged into Hong Kong. In 1946, Hong Kong's population was over 600,000. By 1950 it had sharply increased to 2.2 million. In particular, a large number of Shanghai cotton mill entrepreneurs and large quantities of capital, technology and equipment entered Hong Kong and this promoted the development of Hong Kong's manufacturing industries. Around the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, confusion and disasters were rampant in Southeast Asia. Many Overseas Chinese went to Hong Kong along with their capital and played a promotional role in Hong Kong's economic development, especially in the development of the manufacturing industries. Second, at the end of the 1950's and throughout the 1960's the developed countries began to readjust their industrial structures. They concentrated on developing technology-intensive industries and shifted their labor-intensive industries outside their countries. This provided Hong Kong with a favorable international environment. The rapid development of transcontinental corporations further brought Hong Kong large amounts of international capital, advanced technology and management and further accelerated Hong Kong's economic development. Third, the Vietnam war which continuously grew in intensity in the 1960's also stimulated the development of Hong Kong's economy. In contrast, Shanghai's economic recovery and development in the 1950's had to proceed in an environment of hostile watching and a blockade by the imperialists.

Apart from the historical factors, there was another important factor promoting Hong Kong's economic development. These may be described as a trend suitable to international economic development, an economic structure suited to Hong Kong's special features, and the development of tertiary industries. Take 1985 for example. In that year, Hong Kong's population was about 5.5 million, and Shanghai's about 12 million (the population in the city proper was over 6 million). Shanghai's industrial output was over 300 percent greater than that of Hong Kong; its agricultural output was 2,200 percent that of Hong Kong, but Hong Kong's GNP was still higher than that of Shanghai because Hong Kong's tertiary industries including financial trade, tourism, commerce, the services trades and export trade were more developed than those of Shanghai. In the composition of Shanghai's GNP, industry comprised 67 percent, whereas tertiary industries comprised 26 percent. In Hong Kong, the



manufacturing industries accounted for only 24 percent of the GNP, while tertiary industries accounted for fully 70 percent. All this was determined by Hong Kong's special conditions. Although there were various factors accounting for the nondevelopment of Shanghai's tertiary industry, following the clarification of our guiding thought, and following the enforcement of the guidelines of reform and opening to the outside, a good trend has appeared for substantial development in its tertiary industry. During the "Sixth 5-Year Plan" the average annual growth rate of Shanghai's tertiary industry was 12.5 percent, higher than the growth rate of primary industry or that of secondary industry for the same period. In 1986, the tertiary industry's share in Shanghai's GNP had already risen to 27.4 percent and from now on will probably continue to increase. However, it is impossible for Shanghai's tertiary industry to grow to an extent that can match Hong Kong's. Besides, Hong Kong has no industrial structure to speak of. It has no iron and steel industry, no automobile industry, and no large petroleum and petrochemical industry. Its industries consist mainly of processing industries, such as enterprises with high profit returns like textile mills, garment-making trades and watch making. In our case, in industrial construction first of all we must consider meeting the needs of the state in construction and the requirements of the people in their material and cultural lives. Moreover, Shanghai's industries are still charged with a special task, namely that of supporting the whole country.

Hong Kong's economic development is the result of Hong Kong compatriots' efforts. Still, it cannot be separated from the support rendered by the interior. For a long period of time, the interior played an important role in helping Hong Kong's stability by supplying it with large quantities of grain, agricultural and sideline products, raw materials and semifinished products, and in stabilizing Hong Kong's economy, restraining currency inflation, and preventing the excessive growth of the cost of production of commodities. The interior not only has been one of the largest sources of Hong Kong's imports but also has served in recent years as an important market for Hong Kong's exports. In 1985, Hong Kong's entrepot trade amounted to \$13.6 billion, making up 45 percent of its gross exports, of which a sizable portion consisted of products from the interior, including products from Shanghai. Shanghai's development is inseparable from the whole country's support but the tasks shouldered by Shanghai in the economic development of the whole country are outside of Hong Kong's scope. Hong Kong's wealth can be used for its own construction, but Shanghai cannot do so. A small portion of Shanghai's accumulated wealth is used on Shanghai, but the largest portion is used on the country as a whole. In the over 30 years prior to 1983, of Shanghai's local financial revenues, the municipality on the average retained only 14.2 percent. In 1985 the retention began to be increased to 23.54 percent and over 70 percent of its revenues were devoted to meeting the needs of the whole country.

A special factor in Hong Kong's economic development is the "active non-intervention policy" carried out for a long time by the Hong Kong British authorities. The city has been maintained as a free port and a policy of low tax rates has been in force. Such a special policy can be effectively employed in a restricted area determined by special historical conditions such as those of Hong Kong. Not only can socialist Shanghai not follow it effectively but a capitalist country is also unable to imitate it effectively.

In our study and analysis of the rapid rate of development of Hong Kong's economy, we should also see that Hong Kong is under the capitalist system, that there is a marked division between the rich and poor classes, and that therefore, the presence of various kinds of traditional ailments of the capitalist system is unavoidable. Looking at Hong Kong's domestic economy, we find that the strong points of low production cost are gradually vanishing and that due to the shortage of highly scientific and technological industries, the readjustment of the industrial structure is facing difficulties. In this respect, Shanghai precisely commands a superior situation. After more than 30 years of construction Shanghai has acquired considerable economic strength and built up a relatively complete and coordinated industrial structure and highly scientific and technological industries and newly rising industries are in the course of development. Shanghai has a concentration of talents and is relatively strong in research power. Following the rationalization of the industrial structure, the hidden potentials and stamina of Shanghai's economic development are far superior to that of Hong Kong. Looking at international conditions, by far the great proportion of Hong Kong's products are exported to the United States and Western Europe, it is highly dependent on the international market. As a result, it can easily suffer from the setbacks of the world's economic crises. Naturally, with support from the interior and the enforcement of the guideline of "one country, two systems," there is a reason for Hong Kong to continue to maintain its stability and prosperity. Nevertheless, even in 1997 when Hong Kong returns to the fold of the fatherland, and continues its capitalism and Shanghai continues along the socialist road, the two can learn from each other and they, in accordance with their own special features, will jointly take the road to prosperity without copying from each other or replacing each other.

Some people have further pointed out that similarly taking 1949 as the starting point, why has Taiwan Province's development been faster than Shanghai's? If a comparison is made between Shanghai and Taiwan, we find that Taiwan's various economic targets, such as the GNP, the per capita GNP, and national income, are all higher than those of Shanghai. This is a fact. How then should we look at this phenomenon?

Lenin said: "In analyzing any social problem, the absolute demand of Marxist theories is to place the problem in a definite historical perspective." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 512) Hence in comparing Shanghai with Taiwan, first of all it should be seen that the starting points and conditions of the two were different.

As early as before the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, Taiwan's economic development had already surpassed that of other provinces in mainland China. During the half century of Japanese occupation in Taiwan, in order to suit the demands for invasion and expansion, the Japanese set up a number of necessary and basic facilities for a modern economy, such as an electric power industry, ports, farmland water conservancy projects, and universal education.

At the time when the KMT authorities retreated from the mainland to Taiwan, they took with them around 2 million military personnel and civilians of whom a sizable number consisted of scientific, technical and economic management personnel, in addition to a large amount of capital, machinery and equipment and seagoing vessels. In the winter of 1948, from Shanghai and other places the abnormal flow of foreign exchange to Taiwan amounted to nearly 300 billion yuan in terms of former Taiwan currency, equipment to 130 percent of the total volume of banknotes issued in the whole of Taiwan Province. In 1949, about 400,000 ounces of gold were moved from the treasury to the province. In such a tiny place as Taiwan, the role that can be played by the input of such large quantities of funds, equipment and personnel can well be imagined. Of the existing 100 largest enterprises in Taiwan, 21 belonged originally to the mainland (about 8 originally belonged to the Jiangsu-Zhejiang financial group), accounting for about one-third of the total value of assets.

The economic structure of Taiwan Province is different from that of the mainland. It cannot form an integrated economic structure or industrial structure. Taiwan's development is inseparable from reliance on U.S. capital and other international capital. From 1952 to 1965 the Taiwan authorities received some \$1.5 billion in economic aid from the United States. By the end of 1985 they had received \$5.1 billion more in foreign aid, of which a portion consisted of aid from Overseas Chinese and aid from other sources. In addition, long-term and medium-term loans amounting to \$9 billion were obtained and guaranteed by the Taiwan authorities. This made the total amount of aid and loans available amount to \$15.6 billion, and this was an important factor in Taiwan's economic development. It is worthy to point out that the reason for Taiwan's ability to obtain substantial economic support from the United States and other countries was solely for the purpose of preventing mainland China from obtaining Taiwan to serve as an unsinkable "aircraft carrier." The precondition for this was the existence of a socialist China and constituted a special international condition in a given historical era.

Although in the 1930's Shanghai did enjoy relatively strong development, after the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war it became an "isolated island," when over 150 large national enterprises were moved inland and what remained were either destroyed or placed under Japan's "military control." Following the outbreak of the Pacific war in 1941 its foreign trade almost came to a standstill. After the war the United States dumped a large volume of surplus materials on the China market and the KMT government resorted to a currency inflationary policy in its plundering activities. On the eve of its defeat, it took away a large amount of funds. As a result, on the eve of liberation,

the various kinds of economic functions and accomplishments which Shanghai had achieved in the 1930's were all seriously destroyed. At the time of liberation, economically Shanghai was on the verge of being paralyzed. Capital and raw materials were lacking, a large number of factories closed their doors, workers lost their employment, the port was blockaded and the city itself suffered from bombings. It was precisely in this deplorable state that we started the work of rebuilding Shanghai. When making a comparison with Taiwan we can only note this incomparable factor.

Despite the above-mentioned factors, during the over 30 years from 1953 to 1985, Shanghai's annual average GNP growth rate was 8.9 percent, and it was 8.6 percent in Taiwan. The annual average growth rate in the gross output of industry was 9.4 percent in Shanghai and 10 percent in Taiwan; while the annual average growth rate in the gross output of agriculture was 7 percent in Shanghai and 4 percent in Taiwan. Thus, it can be seen that over the past 30 years the rate of Shanghai's economic development was by no means lower than that of Taiwan.

Because of Taiwan's original foundation and the over 30 years of special historical conditions, its economy has really achieved rather rapid development. However, this is only the condition of one stage in the process of historical development. If a comparison is made in the trend of development, then Taiwan Province has its weak points, whereas Shanghai municipality has its strong points.

Taiwan has a weak economic foundation and in both resources and markets must heavily rely on the outside. It must import 98 percent of its petroleum and over 90 percent of its major industrial raw materials. During the Middle East oil crisis in 1974, Taiwan's economic growth rate shrunk from 11.9 percent in 1973 to 0.6 percent in 1974. Early this year the United States announced the cancellation of the privilege of excise payment exemption on a large amount of Taiwanese commodities exported to the United States. This decision will reduce Taiwan's special treatment by over one-third and will be a serious blow to Taiwan's economy. On the other hand, Shanghai has a complete category of industrial departments which have a strong coordinating capacity with each other. Besides, it can count on a vast inland for support and reliance, with rich resources and extensive markets. The stable character of its economy is far superior to that of Taiwan.

A definite state of a favorable or an unfavorable foreign trade balance is a reflection of the healthy or weak state of a national economy. For a long time Taiwan had an abundance of exports but rather stagnant imports. As a result, it has a surplus in foreign exchange earnings. According to information, in January 1987, its foreign exchange reserves amounted to \$48 billion, indicating an unprecedented depression in investment on the island. Since financial organizations must use an amount of new Taiwan dollars, or deposits of the equivalent value to exchange or absorb these foreign exchange earnings, the rate of increase in the currency supply in Taiwan has surpassed the usually maintained security line of 20 percent. At the end of November last year it had reached 48.2 percent, thus resulting in the pressure of currency inflation and an explosive situation in the economy. Shanghai has an



insufficient supply of foreign exchange but has the potential to expand exports in foreign trade and increase foreign exchange earnings from non-trade items. Following an improvement in the investment environment, Shanghai is daily attracting the interest of foreign investors and the scope of its absorption of foreign capital is steadily expanding.

When compared to Taiwan's social problems and its protruding conflicts between the rich and the poor, socialist Shanghai definitely has the upper hand.

When making a lateral comparison we should note that a socialist system is a newborn system and that in building socialism with Chinese characteristics we must go through a process of actual practices and probings in the course of which setbacks and errors are unavoidable. Consequently, the strong points of socialism cannot yet be fully displayed. In spite of this we have still achieved enormous results. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our understanding of the laws governing socialism has made a great leap forward, and in the practices in reform and construction we have achieved unprecedented breakthroughs. If we firmly insist on the four basic principles and on the reform, opening to the outside and invigorating the economy, then the strong points of socialism can be more fully displayed then we will definitely be able to achieve even bigger and better results. We are fully confident that economically, Shanghai will surpass Taiwan.

There is no need to deny that at present Shanghai's development is still facing certain difficult problems, such as, for example, relatively antiquated technical equipment, the backward state of basic facilities, and so forth. But it must be seen that to a very large extent these problems are the legacy of history and that many of them were caused by imperialist aggressions. For example, the problem of Shanghai's basic urban facilities is the sequela left over by imperialism's demarcation of the settlements. Old Shanghai was demarcated into the French settlement, the international (British and U.S.) settlement and the Chinese territory. The Chinese section was again divided into the Zhabei and Nanshi sectors. They thus formed a "tripartite" separatist situation. The three parties each took charge of their own municipal construction affairs. Their roads were not connected with each other. The power supply of each had a different voltage, while the sewage systems were in a state of confusion. Each had its own waterworks which were quite unrelated to the others. The distribution or location of Shanghai's industrial establishments was also closely related to the problem of imperialist aggression. At that time the imperialists, for the sake of obtaining more profits, concentrated the construction of plants along the shores of the Huangpu River and the Suzhou River, fixing their location according to their requirements. At the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war in 1937, many of the factories moved into the settlements, resulting in many of them being located in residential areas. On the eve of liberation in 1949, the number of factories located in nonindustrial areas was 77.5 percent of the total number of factories, while in residential areas there were 5,886 factories, or 58.3 percent of the total number of factories. All kinds of factories, including those making inflammable, explosive, poisonous and harmful products were scattered in the city's alleyways and streets. After

liberation, we devoted great efforts to the solutions to these problems. There were errors in our work. At one stage, due to overstressing production and neglecting living standards, in the industrial sector there was a profuse addition of small shops and stalls in the alleyways and the problems of the situation were further aggravated.

To solve the above-mentioned problems and to make Shanghai develop even faster we must take the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics. After over 30 years of efforts the socialist system has manifested its thriving vitality. We are entirely capable of building Shanghai even faster under the socialist system. Shanghai's economic development cannot take Hong Kong's road or that of Taiwan. Naturally, in our economic development we must study and copy from others those things which are useful to us.

### III. The Historical Sense of Mission and the Sense of Responsibility--Thinking of the Future

The 12th CPC National Congress advocated the gigantic strategic target of quadrupling the 1980 gross output of the industry and agriculture of the whole country by the end of this century. This has indicated broad prospects for Shanghai's development. Judging from the present condition of Shanghai's history, geography and development, after decades of efforts, Shanghai now possesses suitable conditions and is entirely possible of being the first to make a leap start in the socialist four modernizations of the fatherland, playing the role of "vanguard" and providing an "important base" for the mission and making the necessary contributions to the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

We are entirely confident that after a rather prolonged period of efforts we can build Shanghai into a modern open socialist city, which is multi-functional, possesses a rational industrial structure, is prosperous economically, thriving in culture, advanced in science and technology, and endowed with a high degree of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. These are the sincere hopes of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, and also an important mission endowed by history to the Shanghai populace and the common wishes of the Shanghai people. For the sake of a beautiful future for Shanghai, we must have a strong historical sense of mission and responsibility, further display the active and creative spirit of socialism, fight the arduous struggles and devotedly strive for Shanghai's rehabilitation and for increasing its development.

By reviewing the old we can know the new and only in succeeding the past can we develop in the future. Retrospecting Shanghai's development over the past 30 years, it is found that the tasks involved in realizing a beautiful future are numerous but the fundamental one is the development of the productive forces. Lenin once said that the development of the productive forces should be the highest standard for social progress. Our country is still in the initial stage of socialism and although Shanghai's per capita GNP has already exceeded 1,000, the present is still the opening stage for the realization of the gigantic objectives. Under the conditions of an imbalance in the development of the national economy, Shanghai has the responsibility to make

even greater contributions to the whole country in making it comparatively well off. Therefore, it is necessary to take the development of the productive forces and of a planned commodity economy as the basic tasks for Shanghai's rehabilitation and prosperity. And only in gradually developing the productive forces, continuously improving the people's material and cultural standard of living can the strong points of the socialist system be better manifested and displayed.

Several years of actual practices have revealed to us that in order to develop the productive forces, aside from firmly insisting on a correct construction guideline we must intensively carry out the economic structure reform and continue to expand in opening to the outside world. Shanghai is a city which mainly relies on the processing industries. For a prolonged period before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, it was constantly semiclosed to the outside world and suffered deeply from the influences of the ideas of a natural economy. In order to greatly develop a planned commodity economy and solve and overcome the conflicts and difficulties encountered in the course of the development, the road that must be taken is that of insisting firmly on the reform and opening to the outside world. Reform and opening to the outside world are extremely complex newly created policies. It is a prolonged task in the course of reform to insist on the socialist direction and, in the course of opening to the outside, to maintain a clear head and dispel the interventions both from the "left" and the right. Actual practices have shown that without a stable and united political situation it is impossible to undertake construction, far less to carry out reform and opening to the outside. Hence, in the course of reform and opening to the outside, we must firmly insist on the four basic principles, concurrently oppose bourgeois liberalization, and firmly and irrevocably insist on the general guideline and policy of reform and opening to the outside. This is the only correct road for Shanghai to take in order to achieve healthy development in following the socialist line with Chinese characteristics. Firmly probing the way and advancing along this road, Shanghai's prospects are extremely bright and attractive.

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## DEEPEN THE 'DOUBLE INCREASE AND DOUBLE ECONOMY' MOVEMENT

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[Article by Xue Ju [5641 7467], secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] To increase production and practice economy is our long-standing tradition. In the current situation, the renewed call by the party Central Committee and the State Council for the start of a campaign to increase production and practice economy and to increase income and reduce expenses in a wide-ranging, thorough and sustained manner carries great realistic and far-reaching strategic significance. In the past, we called for building enterprises amid hardships and increasing production and practicing economy. Today, to maintain the sustained and steady development of the economy and deepen the reform, we must also increase production and practice economy and boost income and reduce expenses. The "double increase, double economy" movement we have launched is an economic task. It must also be treated as an important task in building socialist spiritual civilization and improving the party style and social practice. The whole party and all the people of the country must be aroused in an effort to accomplish this task.

In the past few years, less attention has been paid to the matter of fighting amid hardships and building the country industriously and thriftily, which has caused serious losses. In any enterprise, organ, or unit that you visit, you can see waste everywhere. Take Zhejiang Province for example. Some units regarded the building of office buildings and high-standard guest houses as their "great achievement," turning a deaf ear to several calls for reduced spending. In 1986, the provincial investment outside approved capital construction projects accounted for one-third of the total investment in capital construction. That accounted for by nonproductive capital construction projects reached 48.5 percent. A portion of the investment should obviously not have been committed. Some units imported things at random and let construction projects overlap, spending several hundreds of thousands and several millions [as published] in foreign exchange on imported equipment that could serve no useful purpose. Some commodities piled up in storehouses rotting away, causing the state and enterprises a great loss. The problem of waste in terms of runoffs, emissions, droppings and leakages was no longer one merely involving a kilowatt-hour unit of electricity, a drop



of oil, an ounce of coal, and a cent. While energy was in short supply, increasing amounts of electricity, oil and coal were allowed to go to waste. Many organs and enterprises were involved in overspending, with too sharp a rise in consumption funds. Spending freely, indulging in extravagances, outdoing each other in a display of generosity, and going in for ostentatious practices were all the rage. Standards set for dinner parties and gifts became increasingly demanding. Unhealthy practices like freely handing out bonuses and things and generally trying to outdo each other had assumed quite serious proportions. In 1986, the provincial revenue showed an increase of 11.8 percent from the preceding year, while the expenditure rose 25.8 percent. The total amount of pay for workers and the average pay registered an increase of 21.7 percent and 16.5 percent respectively, both higher than increases in national income and labor productivity. In the past few years, there has been a consistent increase in the number of various organs, with an ever greater number of workers. In many units, work efficiency is low, with a correspondingly serious waste of talent and manpower. There are great multitudes of newspapers and magazines of various kinds. Some of them are of low quality, causing the state a great waste of money. People have long expressed dissatisfaction with the above various wasteful practices, as they impair the party's fine tradition of fighting amid hardships and building the country industriously and thriftily, causing the state a great loss of financial, material and human resources. If we fail to resolutely correct these unhealthy practices, we are not worthy of the name of an honest people's government serving the people. Therefore, the call by the central authorities and the State Council for the start of a "double increase, double economy" campaign is unusually timely, rational, and compatible with the people's desire.

Improved economic results are the fundamental objective of the "double increase, double economy" campaign. Every step forward in launching the "double increase, double economy" campaign must make the masses see actual results, an improvement in production efficiency, a drop in material consumption, an increase in enterprise accumulation and in profits and taxes handed over to higher levels, and an appropriate improvement in workers' life. Only in this way can we enable people to fully realize the far-reaching significance of the "double increase, double economy" campaign. In the past 2 years, our province has witnessed relatively quick industrial development, but economic results have not been up to expectations. We have repeatedly stressed this problem, but have failed to find an effective solution. The "double increase, double economy" campaign has provided us with a way to achieve unity of pace and results. Given an "atmosphere of retrenchment," enterprises cannot help directing attention to tapping the potential internally, increasing the production of products suited for the market, reducing the consumption of raw materials, and improving economic results. In the past, no matter what the market wanted, any increase in production was considered good. Now, this concept has begun to change. Production that should be increased is increased. Production that should be restricted is restricted. Between January and April this year, products in short supply, such as bicycles, woolen yarn, beer, aluminum products, and other everyday consumer goods, and products for agricultural use, such as chemical fertilizers, insecticides, and so forth registered increases exceeding those of

the corresponding period of last year. Production of some unpopular products dropped, to different degrees. Results in the economical use of energy and raw materials have been quite obvious. Economic results in the industrial field have improved from month to month. In January-April this year, as compared with the corresponding period last year, the total output value of provincial state industrial enterprises rose 13.4 percent, the income from sales 25.8 percent, and realized taxes and profits 14.6 percent, realized profits of the latter up 19 percent, exceeding the increase in output value. This situation is unique in the past 2 years.

The deepening of the "double increase, double economy" campaign must be combined with the deepening of the reform of enterprises. Reform is a driving force behind increased production and the practice of economy. To arouse the enthusiasm of enterprises and workers and tap the internal production potential in enterprises, we must rely upon reform and gradually change and improve the mechanism for enterprise operation. The contract responsibility system for operation now being promoted in its various forms is not only an important content of the effort to reform and perfect the mechanism for enterprise operation but also an important channel to realize the "double increase, double economy" task in a solid way. On the basis of summing up experiences in practicing the economic responsibility system in the past few years and through various versions of the contract responsibility system, Hangzhou, Lanxi, Xinchang, and other cities and counties brought the concrete targets of the "double increase, double economy" campaign to every enterprise with their implementation in a solid manner. The enterprise in turn passes on such targets to every level, with their firm implementation of workshops, teams and groups, and individuals. Some enterprises take planning for "double increase, double economy" as an assessment yardstick in regard to the responsibility system involving set goals for factory directors (managers) during a given term of office. They also call for the realization of "three in one"--"double increase, double economy," the deepening of enterprise reform, and the upgrading of enterprises. In this way, with the close combination of national income, enterprise vitality and workers' interests, the campaign to increase production and practice economy and the reform of enterprises promote each other, deepening their development at the same pace.

In seeking "double increase, double economy," we must also rely upon technical progress and improved ways of operation and management. With clear-cut goals for an enterprise in increasing production and practicing economy, the masses of workers will try every means to find solutions in matters of technical innovation and better management. A technical innovation involving energy and material savings can make for a drop in energy and material consumption. The development of a new product suited to the market can bring a rapid increase in sales. The Hangzhou low-tension electrical appliances factory introduced a new soldering technology, effecting a saving of 46 kilograms of soldering silver in 1 year. Through technical transformation, products were upgraded, bringing an increased profit of more than 400,000 yuan. Two small acts of reform invigorated this factory. Cases like this can be found in various areas. There is also great potential in improving matters of operation and management. By setting fixed quotas in management in regard to raw material consumption and providing incentives

for savings effected, we can cut down on consumption and increase production. Strengthened efforts to retrieve and recycle waste and discarded materials can turn waste into treasure, adding substantially to the wealth of the state and enterprises. Given a 1-percent reduction in the material consumption of important sectors like industry, commerce, construction, communications and post and telecommunications from the preceding year, there can be a saving of 8 or 9 hundreds of millions of yuan for the whole year. With the deepening of the campaign to increase production and practice economy, rational suggestions from the masses are being put forth and technical innovations are being introduced. Enthusiasm for developing extensive economic and technical cooperation is increasing. It can be said for certain that the quality of enterprises will be continuously upgraded in the campaign to increase production and practice economy.

The "double increase, double economy" campaign is also a spur to a change in the style of organs. Since the beginning of this year, unhealthy practices like indulging in extravagances have been on the decline. Given a stress on the need to call fewer meetings and meetings of a shorter duration and on a smaller scale, there has been a big reduction in the number of meetings of various kinds. Leadership cadres at various levels have gone deep into the midst of lower levels to make investigations and studies, keeping a grip on the "double increase, double economy" campaign and doing things for enterprises and the masses in a down-to-earth manner. The provincial party committee and the provincial government have probed and corrected wasteful practices of some units, such as taking guest houses as offices on long leases, using public money for dinner parties and gifts, traveling at public expense, and so forth. They have caused the elimination of a number of construction projects involving towers, halls, guest houses and offices. These are only the beginnings of the effort. But so long as the leaders take the lead in setting personal example and sticking it out, an effective boost will be given to the building of the ideological style of cadres.

The deepening of the "double increase, double economy" campaign calls for further arousing the masses, unifying awareness and directing vigorous efforts toward the firm implementation of various measures. Now, some enterprises have been slow in the development of the "double increase, double economy" campaign. The main problem is that the cadres there still look upward and outward, pinning hopes for the realization of the goals of the "double increase, double economy" campaign on external conditions. They hope to raise the prices of products, to receive special treatment from higher levels in regard to the supply of energy and raw materials, and to receive more exemptions and reductions from the state in matters of taxes and profits. They fail to direct efforts to such fields as improving matters of operation and management and tapping potential. It should be noted that after these several years of efforts, the production capacity developed by enterprises is quite attractive. So long as we seriously improve matters of operation and management and tap the internal potential to the full, even given no increased investment in fixed assets, we can also increase production and improve efficiency. Among enterprises, there is still a big gap between the advanced and the backward in labor productivity, raw material consumption, and so forth. Any gap translates into the potential.

For example, among the 11 cities and prefectures of the province, the industrial enterprise labor productivity rate of those with low levels is only 42 percent of those with high levels. The difference between "two coal burners" in a small chemical fertilizer factory in making synthetic ammonia is more than 50 percent between the high and the low level. Many facts show that so long as we look inward and rely on the masses, in any enterprise or unit, we can tap the potential in increasing production and effecting savings and in increasing income and reducing expenses. By saving on material consumption in every way, the Shaoxing Bicycle Factory reduced the rolled steel consumption for each bicycle to 1.05 kilograms. This alone made for a saving of 800 tons of rolled steel for the whole year and a reduction of 800,000 yuan in expenses. Such is the case with the link of production. The same is true of the link of circulation. Given a 10-percent reduction in the commodity stocks of commercial departments, there can be an increase of around 1 billion yuan in liquid funds. To increase production and practice economy and increase income and reduce expenses is the conscious act of myriads of people. Many measures for increasing production and effecting savings call for little outlay. So long as we arouse the masses and keep up the effort firmly and unswervingly, we can reap real results.

Our country is now still in the primary stage of socialism. A large population, a weak foundation, and poorly developed productivity represent the fundamental conditions of our country. This dictates the socialist modernization effort being a protracted and arduous historical process and calls for arousing positive factors in various fields and the exertion of efforts by people of several generations in a struggle. Therefore, we must take the matter of increasing production and practicing economy and building the country industriously and thriftily as a long-term fundamental guideline to be seriously implemented.

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## THE QUESTION OF PARTY STYLE FOR A RULING . RTY

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 16-19

[Commentator's article]

[Text]

### I

Some party members, party-member cadres in particular, have been guilty of serious bureaucratism in recent years; they have abused their power in seeking personal gain and pursued unhealthy tendencies of every description. Their behavior has injured the interests of the party and the people, sabotaged the relations between the party and the masses, corrupted party prestige, hindered the political situation of stability and unity, interfered with the implementation of the policy of reform and opening up, caused losses to socialist modernization and other undertakings, and brought about the resentment and anger of the masses.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Central Committee has adopted a series of major measures based on the four cardinal principles to rectify party style directed at abnormal phenomena, while implementing the policy of reform and opening up. It has founded the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, made complete and perfect and strengthened the legal system, resolutely cracked down on serious criminal activities in the economic and other areas. Since 1983, the Central Committee has unfolded the party-wide party rectification. The party conference of delegates in 1985 stressed the need to strengthen ideological and political work. In January 1986, the party Central Committee called a conference of cadres of central organs in Beijing mobilizing central organs to play an exemplary role in rectifying the party style in the whole nation. The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee adopted the resolution on the guiding principles for building socialist spiritual civilization. While unfolding the opposition to bourgeois liberalization, the Central Committee has continued to adhere to opposing unhealthy tendencies. Despite the fact that our party has done all this work, the problems in party style have not been basically solved and remain the cause of complaints from many people; moreover, many unhealthy tendencies have revived and repeatedly emerged. This is an issue that gives much food for thought for the whole party.

## II

An important reason accounting for the rise of unhealthy tendencies inside the party is the lack of an overall and correct understanding of the position of our party as the ruling party among many cadres who are party members. Many of them have failed to correctly regard and apply the power the party and the people entrusted to them to work for the happiness of the people; instead they have done their best to seek personal gains for themselves and those around them, or are sated with food and remain idle, riding roughshod over the people as overlords. Back in 1956, at the eighth national party congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The position of the ruling party will easily contaminate our comrades with bureaucratic ways. Regarding party organizations and members, the danger of becoming divorced from practice and the masses is not reducing but increasing compared with the past." In accordance with some problems in ideological style among party members since the party came to power, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The question of the party style of the ruling party is a matter of life and death." However, our party organizations at various levels have not attached importance to these important opinions throughout the years, neither have they adopted effective measures to earnestly implement them in their practical work.

The historical mission of the Communist Party is eventually to realize communism. The seizure of power was only the first objective of our party. When our communists shed blood and sacrificed their lives for the seizure of power, they were not like those initiating the peasant uprisings in history, who would become rulers and overlords of the masses, because of the limitations in their concepts of private ownership and imperial power. Our party members will always maintain the true color of communists and adhere to communist ideals and the purpose of serving the people heart and soul by utilizing the power in their hands to work for the prosperity of the state as well as the prosperity and happiness of the people. We communists are building socialism today for the sake of realizing communism in the future. But why should some party members have failed to maintain the fine style of sharing the comforts and hardships of the masses in the years of the revolutionary war, while the phenomena of abusing power and serious bureaucratism have emerged? In the years of war and the white terror, a person joined the Communist Party to seek national and social emancipation out of his yearning for, and faith in, communist ideals; moreover, to make revolution, he would have to rely on the masses, for he could stand on his own feet only with the full support of the masses, whereas departing from them, he would not be able to survive. Joining the Communist Party at that time, a party member had no power or personal interests to speak of, instead, he had to be ready to suffer hardships and even to sacrifice his own life, facing the test of life and death at every moment. Even when some people joined the party with some impurities in their motivation, they would either be transformed and become good party members in the course of revolutionary struggle, or they would be eliminated through election in the course of bitter struggle.

Great changes have taken place since the CPC took power throughout the nation. When one joins the party today, danger to one's life is unheard of,

while many party members have, to various degrees, some power in their hands, and others are even appointed to leading posts. Now that they have position and power, they may use them to decide certain important issues in their work as well as in the livelihood of the masses; therefore, people will often praise and flatter them, and even curry favor with them. Under such circumstances and conditions, some people have relaxed the strict requirements on themselves; with their revolutionary will gradually declining, their individualism continuously expands, to the point where they forget their party membership and that they are servants to the people; and they take advantage of the power entrusted to them by the party and the people, with which they were to work for the interests of the people and to serve socialism and instead seek personal gain. As a whole, the overwhelming majority of CPC members have stood the test, and have not changed their nature under the lure of power and material goods. However, we cannot deny that under the condition of our party being in power, some people who have impurities in their motivation, have wormed their way into the CPC out of their ambition and pursuit of personal interests. Actually there are still others who have succumbed to their own personal desires, undergone a change in their ideology, and regard incorrectly the power entrusted to them by the people.

Another important reason accounting for the rise of unhealthy tendencies inside the party is that many cadres who are party members have failed to regard correctly the corresponding changes in people's ways of thinking and working, as required by the shift of focus in the party work to economic construction. Such changes do not require people to give up their belief in communism while believing in capitalism, and to give up socialism in the pursuit of capitalism; they do not mean giving up the party's fine traditions and style while pursuing the practices of the bourgeoisie, neither do they mean that we can give up the purpose of serving the people in the pursuit of individualism and bureaucratism. They require people to change the managerial system and ways of acting and thinking unsuited to the development of social forces. This is precisely to give up such "leftist" ideas and practices as "taking class struggle as the key link," to adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, to proceed from actual conditions in everything, to link theory with practice, and to adhere to the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Only then will it be possible for us to really give play to the socialist enthusiasm of the people, to accelerate the process of the four modernizations, and to build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

We should say that the majority of our cadres who are party members have done their best to meet these new requirements on them in their ways of thinking and working. However, we should also see that quite a few cadres who are party members simply will not give up the whole range of outmoded and erroneous practices which they have formed or have become used to over a long period of time; for example, the pursuit of formalism, a high-handed way of dealing with people, neglect of collective leadership, the pursuit of bureaucratism, the suppression of democracy, and sabotaging the democratization of the political life of the party and the state. All this has affected giving full play to the people's socialist enthusiasm in building socialist modernization. This is one side of the problem. On the other hand, some

party organizations and cadres who are party members have failed to have an all-round understanding, and to implement the line, of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In socialist modernization, they have not earnestly implemented the principle of "grasping the two civilizations simultaneously." They have neglected the building of socialist spiritual civilization and the party's ideological and political work while paying attention to grasping the building of material civilization. They lack the necessary resistance to the negative phenomena emerging in the course of opening up and invigorating the domestic economy; and that has actually helped the flooding in the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Regarding economic construction, we have scored considerable achievements, and the situation is pleasing. This is China's success. However, if the atmosphere continues to worsen, what is the use of our success in economic construction? It will lead to deterioration in another aspect, which will in turn change the nature of the entire economy. Should that continue to develop, a situation in which corruption, theft, and bribery ride roughshod will take shape." ("Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics," expanded edition, p 131) There really are some party members corrupted by decadent bourgeois ideas; and in some serious cases, they have already changed qualitatively into bourgeois elements. Therefore, we can see that the question of party style is closely connected with correct implementation of the party line in all its integrity. Given a correct party line, problems of unhealthy tendencies in party style will still emerge if it is not correctly implemented in all its integrity.

### III

At the 1985 conference of party delegates, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "For middle-aged and young cadres to become successors, the most important thing is to carry on the heroic spirit of the old cadres in adhering to the orientation of revolutionary struggle." In building socialist modernization, it is not enough to rely on knowledge in science and technology alone; a good style is also indispensable. To bring forward the fine tradition and fine style of the party, the most fundamental point is that the party should control itself. We should lay stress on solving well the following questions:

1. It is necessary to intensify the education in party spirit and political education. Party organizations should earnestly organize and guide party members to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and require party members to do their best to link theory with practice, to establish and to consolidate the proletarian world outlook, and to learn to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and approach to guiding their actions. Party organizations should place in a conspicuous position the education in the purpose of serving the people heart and soul and the education in the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, so that party members may truly establish lofty communist ideals and the concept of serving the people wholeheartedly, and so that they may place the interests of the state and the people above all else. When contradictions emerge between their personal interests and the interests of the state and the people, they should unconditionally subordinate their interests to those of the state and the people. It is necessary to educate



party members, primarily leading cadres at various levels, to play an exemplary role in observing the law and discipline and to adhere to and bring forward the party's fine traditions of linking closely with actual conditions and linking closely with the masses. They should be instructed to get rid of the bureaucratic style, to be concerned about the weal and woe of the people, and to do their best to help solve the difficulties of the masses. It is imperative to instruct party members to earnestly study the party line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, to have a good grasp of the two books, "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics" (expanded edition) and "Adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles To Oppose Bourgeois Liberalization," at present in particular, to have a firm grasp of the two basic points, to have a profound understanding that the "four adherences" are our basic principle, while reform and opening up are our general principle and policy, and to have a profound understanding that the basic task for the socialist phase is to develop the productive forces, so as to heighten our consciousness in implementing the party line, principles, and policies. We should make full use of the exposed typical cases of grave unhealthy tendencies as negative teaching materials from which to sum up experiences and lessons of universal significance, so that party members may have a concrete understanding of what they should do and of what are erroneous ideas and behavior which should be resolutely resisted. In short, it is necessary to instruct party members to heighten their consciousness of party spirit, and to help them establish the concept of party spirit.

2. It is necessary to stick to inner-party democratic life earnestly but not superficially. The normalization of party organizational life and political life and the degree of democratization are important criteria for judging whether party style is set upright. The occurrence of many unhealthy tendencies is mostly connected with the lack of criticism and self-criticism in inner-party life, and the lack of resistance and struggle against unhealthy tendencies. Any party member, no matter how high his position, is an ordinary member under a party organization, and should take part in regular organizational life in a grass-roots party branch as well as a party group. Regarding a party branch, one of the important contents of its work and organizational life is to unfold criticism and self-criticism, to commend good things and to criticize and to expose bad things. Regarding those comrades who have committed mistakes, and refraining from criticism will only help the development of their mistakes, which will in turn injure the comrades in question. When any party member has pursued unhealthy tendencies, the party branch he belongs to should promptly expose and criticize his mistakes, and also handle his case. Party members should welcome the criticisms of responsible cadres and those higher up. Relevant party organizations must seriously deal with criticisms in this category; they should check the facts, and handle cases according to the specific conditions. We should protect those making the criticisms, while opposing, investigating, and dealing with any retaliation. As to those party committees (party groups) and party branches that actually have serious problems themselves and which fail or are unwilling, to solve their problems through criticism and self-criticism, they should be promptly consolidated or reorganized.

3. It is necessary to take seriously the supervision of the masses; party members should consciously accept the supervision of the masses. Party organizations should maintain a high level of unanimity in matters concerning ideology and politics. They should not pin their hopes on the lofty personalities of individuals, but on a good party style, constitution, and discipline, which are independent of the personalities of individuals and changes among leading members. The resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee emphatically pointed out: "It is necessary to establish and to make complete and perfect the inner-party supervision system and the people's supervision system as well, so that leading cadres at various levels may come under effective supervision." It is all the more important to establish the system in which party and state leading members will come under effective supervision and restriction. We should also bring forward and enlarge the supervisory role of the masses. The fine style of linking closely with the masses itself includes precisely the content of accepting the supervision of the masses. Letters of complaint from the masses (including party members) are important channels for the masses to supervise party members, cadres as well as party organizations. Party organizations must take seriously letters of complaint from the masses (including anonymous ones), which should be checked and dealt with earnestly.

The unfolding of criticism and self-criticism among members of party committees and party branches is an important method of supervision. Soliciting the opinions of nonparty members when recruiting new party members is another method of supervision. According to our party regulations and discipline, all loyal and upright comrades inside or outside the party have the right to expose and to report serious dereliction of duty and violation of the law and discipline on the part of responsible persons at any level of the party organization, even the party Central Committee, to the Discipline Inspection Commission and party committee of the unit or locality they belong to, to the Discipline Inspection Commission and party committees at higher levels, or to the central level.

4. It is necessary to intensify education in professional ethics among party members. Every party member is in his own professional post and his ideological character will inevitably be expressed in his activities in his professional post. The masses also judge party style through the words and concrete actions of party members. Therefore, when correcting unhealthy tendencies in the trades, we will find that education in professional ethics more easily exposes the specific problems of every party member in his ideology and behavior, and cases are better remedied. At the same time, it will closely link the correction of unhealthy tendencies inside the party with correcting the bad phenomena in the social atmosphere. Whether the social atmosphere will take a turn for the better is to a large extent determined by whether party members and cadres in all trades lead the people in their own trades to create good professional ethics.

In intensifying the education in professional ethics, it is primarily necessary to conduct education among party and state cadres. We must set the requirements on them that they should be upright and honest, be loyal and enthusiastic, serve the people heart and soul, and oppose bureaucratism, fraud, and the abuse

of power to seek personal gain. For example, cadres who are party members in labor and personnel departments and organizational departments should consciously observe the relevant principles and discipline regarding personnel work. This is a matter of party style, as well as of abiding by professional ethics.

5. It is necessary to strictly implement party discipline. To correct the unhealthy tendencies among party members, it is imperative to strictly implement party discipline. Whoever pursues unhealthy tendencies and violates party discipline should be punished in accordance with party discipline and his case. We should criticize whoever pursues bourgeois liberalization, and those who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated admonitions must be punished in accordance with party discipline. The rights and wrong of a case should be taken into account, and one's position, friendships, or close relationships should make no difference. General mistakes in ideological understanding do not belong to the realm of party discipline; regarding such cases, we should give guidance and instruction, and criticize those who are involved. However, if seriously erroneous ideological style is put into practice and becomes a particularly unhealthy trend, we should gravely criticize it and even mete out punishment based on party discipline. The strict implementation of party discipline is a restriction on the behavior of party members and simultaneously serves as ideological education among them. For some time in the past, the effects of correcting unhealthy tendencies inside the party have not been so obvious; and the relaxation in implementing discipline is a direct cause of this. In view of this situation, party organizations at various levels must adopt resolute measures to strictly implement party discipline in the struggle to rectify party style and to correct unhealthy tendencies of all descriptions inside the party.

The history of struggles over more than half a century has proved that the CPC is a great party capable of overcoming its own weaknesses and continuously forging ahead. Every phase in the party's history has been filled with the struggle of correct ideas to overcome erroneous ones. At present socialist modernization requires us to face squarely the erroneous ideas and style emerging and existing under the conditions of the CPC being the ruling party, to unfold education in augmenting party spirit, and to correct unhealthy tendencies through intensifying the education in party spirit and enforcing party discipline, which will, in turn, intensify the ideological education and education in party spirit among party members.

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CSO: 4005/797

## THE 'TALKS' HAVE UNLIMITED VITALITY

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 20-21

[Speech by Huang Zhen [7806 6966] delivered at the concluding ceremonies of the academic symposium on "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art"]

[Text] At a time when the CPC Central Committee calls on us to adhere to the four cardinal principles, to oppose bourgeois liberalization, to adhere to reform, opening up, and to work hard for the four modernizations with Chinese characteristics today, it is greatly significant for us to hold a meeting marking the 45th anniversary of the publication of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." This is because those who uphold bourgeois liberalization believe that the "Talks" are out-dated, some of them claimed that the "Talks" have been a bondage to them which must be broken. We want to defend the "Talks," to adhere to, and develop them.

Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" were an offspring of Marxism-Leninism linking with the actual conditions of China's revolutionary literature and art, as well as a classic of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the area of literature and art.

When the CPC was leading the life-and-death struggle of the army and people in resistance against Japan for national emancipation 45 years ago, the "Talks" augmented the spiritual force of the people on the front, in the rear, the base areas, the areas under KMT rule and even in the Japanese occupation areas. Instructed with the spirit of the "Talks," writers and artists as well as party workers had a clear understanding that revolutionary literature and art was an important field of the revolutionary cause, and that the pens and artistic means in the hands of writers and artists were weapons as important as guns. Because they had a clear understanding of the significance and objectives of literature and art, writers and artists greatly strengthened their sense of responsibility. In accordance with the purpose of serving the people, and the principle of "uniting the people, striking blows at the enemy" in a more efficient way, everybody was working and fighting to drive the aggressors out of China as soon as possible.

After the publication of the "Talks," the writers and artists in Yanan were the first to take action. They studied the "Talks" while going deep among



the workers, peasants and soldiers in various ways. Soon they created a number of operas and songs expressing people's lives in the border areas with national style. For example, "Brother and Sister Opening Up Wasteland," "New Year's Greetings," "Salute to Our Armymen," and "The White-Haired Girl." They were all fine works, which were popular among the masses and greatly inspired the morale of the masses. These works as well as the "Talks" spread to various anti-Japanese base areas and the KMT-ruled areas. Aside from performing these works, the writers and artists there also created a large number of works by linking with the local realities of the struggle which were loved by the people. When the "Talks" spread to the Taiheng mountain range, the writers and artists of the No 129 Battalion under the 8th Route Army stationed there studied the talks in earnest and resolutely implemented them under the personal leadership of Political Commissar Deng Xiaoping. They wrote a great deal of plays, poems, and works in reportage linking the realities of the army and people, such as "To the Front" and "Chen Bingchang, the Great Shooter." The spirit and principle of the "Talks" always inspired the writers and artists during the war of liberation, the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, and the period of building new China. The "Talks" have played a tremendous role in the emergence of a large number of fine works of literature and art as well as the victories of wars and accomplishments in construction. This is precisely the expression of the vitality of the "Talks." Because of the time limit I will not be able to cite more fine works of literature and art here. But I hope that in reviewing the "Talks," our comrades, together with the people, will simultaneously review all the fine works of literature and art in all forms, so that the people may truly experience the vitality of the "Talks."

To my mind, aside from the fundamental principle of serving the people that accounts for the powerful and lasting vitality of the "Talks," and its becoming the guiding principle for our socialist literature and art, the "Talks" are outlined by the following points:

First, the "Talks" explicitly point out that life is the fountainhead of literature and art and the revolutionary literature and art of the people must achieve the principle of "from the masses, to the masses." Therefore, writers and artists must plunge deep into the fiery struggles and realities of the working people and take part in their struggle in production as well as their class struggle. This will inevitably become an important component in the process of their creation. In recent years, some people have proposed the need to break through the "Talks" as well as the CPC leadership, holding the view that the farther away they are from reality, the better the works of literature and art produced. They even propagated that those who have never fought a war can best describe war scenes. Such arguments do not fit in with the spirit of the "Talks." Practice has proved that the argument of breaking through the "Talks" is practically the pursuit of bourgeois liberalization.

Second, the "Talks" not only point out the issue of whom to serve regarding literature and art, but at the same time, the issue of how to serve, with regard to elevation on the basis of popularization, and popularization under the guidance of elevation. This is entirely different from the practice of

some people who are enthusiastic about following the patterns of certain foreign literary schools and genres, turning out things quite beyond others' grasp on their purpose.

Third, the "Talks" profoundly point out that the people's writers and artists must go deep into the realities of the workers, peasants, soldiers and other working people as well, strive to become one with them in thought and feelings and aesthetic concepts. Only then will it be possible for them to produce works of literature and art that are loved by the masses, that will exert favorable influences on their sentiments and will inspire their morale as well. They have nothing in common with the practice of exhibiting the ugly and the dirty, and the practice of polluting spiritual civilization.

In conclusion, Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks" have been proved to have infinite vitality by historical practice and will remain the brilliant guidance in socialist literature and art even after another 45 years from now. We must continue to study them one generation after another, and defend them resolutely.

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## THE 'TALKS' LIGHT MY ROAD OF CREATION

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 21-24

[Article by Cao Ming [5430 2494]]

[Text] It has been 45 years since Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was published. However, with the passing of the years, the ideological effects of the "Talks" on my mind have not weakened but have intensified with the practice of several decades.

When the CPC Central Committee was preparing for the convening of the forum on literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong met separately a number of writers and artists, who made light of the distance of thousands of miles and headed for Yanan to seek truth. Comrade Ouyang Shan and I were lucky enough to be among those who were summoned. As soon as we arrived, Comrade Mao Zedong said candidly that he was ready to discuss the issues of whom to serve and how to serve regarding literature and art. He stressed: To write for the workers, peasants, and soldiers, it was necessary to get familiar with them and to plunge deep into their fiery struggles; he pointed out that in addition, the young people in Yanan supported the Communist Party, but their standards of Marxism were not high and they were affected with nonproletarian ideas; hence, they needed to remold their world outlook.

I was rather abashed by this particular remark, thinking at that moment that he had done me wrong. I was born in Shunde, Guangdong, the land famous for its abundance of silk. Back there, most of my neighbors, those cousins and aunts I knew well, were all reelers; young as I was at that time, I had lived among them. Beginning at the age of 19, I had devoted a decade to writing about the miseries of the reelers, their struggles against fate as well as their strikes. Could I be said to be unfamiliar with their life? As to remolding petite bourgeois ideas, it had already been 10 years since I had joined the revolution--was it necessary for me to remold my world outlook?

Young people always think they are somebody; they never see the immaturity and rawness in themselves. Could I be an exception!

The opening ceremonies of the forum were held on 2 May.

Comrade Mao Zedong's "Introduction" started the ball rolling in our discussions. Everybody spoke his mind without misgivings; some people boldly put forth such issues as humanity, love as the everlasting theme of writing, and the question of whether Marxism-Leninism would spoil the sentiments for creation. The atmosphere was active and warm. To tell the truth, my ideological standard at that time was not high enough to pass judgment on the points others had set forth; I found some points were wrong, but I could not explain why. I simply listened to them without saying a word, but I was continuously in contemplation.

The responsible persons of the Central Committee also aired their views at the forum. What impressed me most was Comrade Zhu De's speech. When talking about his own ideological remolding and the change of his stand, Comrade Zhu De said: I am not of proletarian origin; to me, it is not simply a matter of changing my stand regarding the proletariat, I just surrendered myself to the proletariat. As the proletariat represents truth, I surrendered to it. To my knowledge, Comrade Zhu De had looked for the Communist Party all over China but failed. Later, he met Comrade Zhou Enlai abroad. They shared the same aspirations and regretted that they had not known each other earlier; Comrade Zhu De promptly joined the CPC when he was abroad.

Comrade Zhu De's speech, which came from the bottom of his heart, touched me deeply. In all his sincerity, he found the CPC only after enduring many hardships, then he became a staunch proletarian fighter and outstanding leader. I, a small intellectual, was recruited in plain sailing to the "Left-Wing Writers Association" [zuo xian 1563 5114] under the CPC leadership even before I left school. Could I become a staunch proletarian fighter without remolding my ideology? Could I write fine works without plunging deep into the realities of the workers, peasants, and soldiers?

Later, Comrade Chen Yun delivered a speech. He mentioned that some writers were proud of having readers. He pointed out that it was the workers, peasants, and soldiers who did the work, which provided the writers materials for their creation, so what was there to be proud of? The masses welcomed the writer precisely because he was capable of reflecting their thinking, ideas, feelings and aspirations in his works. Only a revolutionary writer who was one with the workers, peasants, and soldiers would become popular among the masses. It would be wrong to think that one would always win over the masses so long as one had produced some literary works of which to boast.

I had an initial grasp of Comrade Chen Yun's speech, which was filled with Marxist viewpoints: First, the workers, peasants, and soldiers were the practitioners of material production and revolutionary struggles, and their experiences were precisely the inexhaustible sources for the writers to reflect in their writings. Second, in plunging deep into the experiences of the workers, peasants, and soldiers in the realities of life, the writer would often discover lofty, beautiful, and sparkling things in their thinking and feelings. That was precisely a golden opportunity for the writer to temper his own ideology. If a writer was wrong in his ideology or had vulgar taste, he would produce works of low taste, and the masses would never think highly of him.

Comrade Mao Zedong delivered a long concluding speech on 23 May. Although at that time I could not grasp it in its entirety, I acted on the party's call and adhered to one point--to go to the masses, and to plunge deep into the fiery struggles of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. During the Yanan rectification campaign, I studied some Marxist-Leninist works, which helped me better understand the far-reaching significance of the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art. After the rectification campaign, I had been to Ruide, Mizhi, and Qingjian to do some coverage; later, when I was recuperating at the rehabilitation home under the Central Party School, I managed to collect many stories regarding the front as well as the Long March from commanders of the Red Army back from the front line. I wrote "Chen Nianci," "Comrade Schizophrenic," "A Common Story," and "Yananese." I must admit that my coverage then was rather superficial.

With the surrender of the Japanese aggressive army, I decided to go to the northeast to work. I did some coverage in Zuoyun and Youyu on the way, and experienced life at the Longyan Iron and Steel Corporation in Zhangjiakou. I wrote "The Army Provisions Worker" and "Cholera." The subject matter of my writing was somewhat enriched, but my practice and generalization of life were far from the due requirements in profundity and height. With greater determination, I took part in practical work at the Harbin Post Office and Jingpohu Hydropower Station for a considerably long period. I became a cultural teacher to the workers, while learning from them in the workshops. In the evening, I would call on the workers at their homes and chat with them; in the daytime, I would organize their dependents to grow vegetables and raise chickens. I did my best to find out how a veteran model worker had fooled high-ranking KMT officials, who came to take over the former Japanese occupation, and how they took the lead in recovering production. The veteran model worker never said anything about himself, but attributed the merits to the masses. This fact alone enlightened me profoundly; I discovered the sparkling beauty in the soul of the proletariat. I had a weakness at that time, as I always wanted others to learn of my accomplishments and merits. Compared with the veteran model worker, I was rather ashamed of myself. The advanced feats of the workers there kept lashing at me, and I felt the keen urge to write the novelette entitled "The Motive Force," in which I molded the typical character of a worker, Lao Suntou.

Then I experienced the benefits of plunging myself into the fiery life and struggles of the workers: I could remold my world outlook, while going deep into their realities of life as well as their thinking and feelings, and could obtain inexhaustible sources for my creative writing. The orientation of the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art became guidance for the way of my writing. Later, I took it as my duty to learn from the working class, and would devote my lifetime writing for the working class. As soon as Shengyang was liberated in November 1948, I went to work at a factory under the Huanggu railway station. I gave lectures to the workers, took part in distributing relief grain and registration of members of reactionary party and organizations, and mobilized the workers to donate the equipment they had concealed from the enemy. I helped in running the wall newspapers, organizing an orchestra, the writing team, and a theatrical performance group as well.



I also took part in organizing the trade union and in activities to establish the CYL and CPC organizations. These diversified and complicated activities enlightened me in many ways, and helped me continuously set upright some of my understanding. What moved me most was the fact that 10 veteran workers headed by Song Guangfu, who initiated the campaign to utilize abandoned locomotives (during the time of the Japanese occupation, locomotives were discarded as scrap when their wear and tear just passed 60 or 70 percent), and they managed to fix a locomotive, which they named "Beijing" in their spare time. The "Beijing" was ready to convey PLA forces south to liberate the whole nation. It took the 10 workers exactly 13 nights to fix the "Beijing," shining almost like brand-new, with the common efforts of those who later joined in the campaign.

When the DONGBEI RIBAO reporters came to cover the event, Song Guangfu prevented them from printing his name in the press. Soon, the workers repaired another locomotive, which was named the "Nanjing," with even more workers participating in the repair project. It was then that I came to see that it was not just out of modesty that Song Guangfu was unwilling to be commended in the press, but that he proceeded mainly from the interests of the revolution in leading more workers to plunge themselves into production enthusiastically on their own, in the attitude of masters of the society. What broad vision and beautiful soul the proletariat had! That took place 40 years ago, and I have always regarded it as a mirror in my mind with which to compare myself. The workers' revolutionary spirit motivated my writing of the novel entitled "The Locomotive."

On another occasion, I interviewed Master Zheng Hongjiu, a veteran worker at the Xianghongdian Dam in Anhui. When I asked him how he helped a backward worker, he advised me frankly: We should not easily regard others as backward, Comrade! Regarding people, when there is a problem in one's mind, it will invariably reflect in one's work; so long as that problem is solved, one will become active again. This veteran worker whom I had just met enlightened me from another angle: What a broad revolutionary vision this worker had--what great respect he showed people, and how he cherished his comrades. How true it was, the more people the better for building our socialist country! The spirit of Master Zheng was later merged in Li Shaoxiang, the hero of my novel "Riding the Wind and Cleaving the Waves."

Later, I spent a decade working in the Anshan Iron and Steel Works, and for 3 years I was deputy secretary of the party committee of the works, in charge of propaganda and education. There, the heartbreaking stories of the selflessness and fearlessness of such veteran model workers as Meng Tai, Wang Chonglun, Li Shaokui and the advanced workers of other factories, mines, and surveying teams profoundly educated and enlightened me and enabled me to produce, with great passion, the novel "Riding the Wind and Cleaving the Waves" and a great number of novelettes, works of reportage, and prose writings as well.

Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" have always lighted my way of creation and incessantly stimulated my passion for writing. I felt that if I stopped writing about them, I would fail to live

up to their expectations. I would be conscience-stricken regarding history, if I stopped writing about this great class.

Long-term practice in life and writing has enabled me to have a profound grasp of the philosophy and far-reaching significance of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks" and the speeches of such revolutionary forerunners as Zhu De and Chen Yun. Works of literature and art are the reflection of life, and the so-called life refers to the practice in the struggles in production, class struggles, and scientific experiments; in a broad sense, it is the social practice of humanity. Divorced from such practice, works of literature and art would be meals without rice. Therefore, writers must plunge deep into the realities of fiery struggles. Of course, it is still not enough to understand and to master the rich and colorful realities of life, which must be understood with correct viewpoints and then be processed, generalized, extracted and reflected in the form of artistic expression, while the correctness of the writer's viewpoints is derived from his study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and his own long-term practice. If the writer's viewpoints are incorrect, he will fail to differentiate the essential from the nonessential in realities and will produce queer works, works of low taste, or even works injurious to people. This is because works of literature and art not only reflect life, but simultaneously affect life. Therefore, we should solemnly and earnestly shoulder the social responsibilities of the writers.

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CSO: 4005/797

## WULANMUQI, A FLOWER THAT IS ALWAYS IN FULL BLOOM ON THE GRASSLAND

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 24-28

[Article by the Cultural Department of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region]

[Text] Wulanmuqi, born in the vast grassland of Nei Monggol, is a grass-roots level mass cultural working corps that is rich and thick in national color, possessed of national characteristics, and tainted with modern atmosphere. Its national singing and dancing art, which is of its own special variety and full of the modern spirit, is well loved by the various nationalities and peoples of our country. We all intimately praise wulanmuqi as the grassland's "cultural light horseman" and a brilliant and fragrant "flower of the people's culture." If 30 years ago wulanmuqi was a contingent probing its way on the road of national cultural development, then today wulanmuqi has grown into an important new force for the development and prosperity of the fatherland's socialist national cultural and art enterprises.

In the summer of 1957, the pastoral people of Nei Monggol, who had stood up and economically were facing the high tide of socialist construction, were culturally still in a very impoverished and backward state. The party organs at various levels and the people's government in Nei Monggol, pursuant to the spirit of the directives of the central authorities on greatly developing the scientific, cultural, and educational enterprises in the regions inhabited by minority nationalities, paid great attention to enriching the spiritual life of the pastoral people. The cultural department of the autonomous region, taking into account the living conditions and demands of the pastoral people and following investigation, survey, and pilot work, discovered a form of operation, that is, on the basis of the cultural bureaus of the original banners (counties), it formed a mobile cultural working corps which is small in size but highly trained, whose members are specialized in talent and capable in many respects, and whose program items are small in pattern but are diversified; in addition, its equipment is light and it can move about freely. This corps not only can offer cultural shows to the pastoral people and go deep into the grass-roots levels to give song and dance performances but also can render a series of comprehensive services to the pastoral people such as conducting slide shows, selling books and pictures, propagating policies, and staging scientific and general exhibitions. In addition, it trains cultural and art backbone elements for the pastoral people and can

collect and help to adjust the cultural legacies of the nationalities and people, and so forth. Hence, it demands of each and every team member that he serve in many and diversified capacities such as actors, propagators, and helpers. The team members were directly selected from native-born herdsmen and milking maids. Thus, on 17 June 1957 the first wulanmuqi corps on the grassland was born in the Suniteyou Banner of the Silinguola League of Nei Monggol. This small cultural working corps, consisting of 12 members, solemnly held an inauguration ceremony. Flying red banners, carrying simple garments, tools, and musical instruments, and driving light wagons with large rubber wheels, the corps began to render services to the old folks in the home villages. On the surface this may seem to have been a simple matter, but on the Nei Monggol grassland at that time it was considered an epoch-making affair. The pastoral people considered it as their "Manar (our own) wulanmuqi," and accorded it with special welcome, fondness, and protection. These young maids and urchins truly behaved well as the offspring of the pastoral people. They were not afraid of the severely cold winter or the hot summer, or of thirst or hunger. Day in and day out they were on the move. They would neglect their sleep and meals just to be able to stage shows and render services, literally insisting on struggling on step by step. The struggle lasted for 30 years, but ultimately the wulanmuqi enterprise of art met with success and prosperity.

From the very beginning, wulanmuqi classified itself as part of the entity of the cultural and art enterprise of the proletariat. In Monggol language "muqi" means "offshoot." It identifies itself as a small "offshoot" of the great tree of proletarian revolutionary enterprise of art and culture. In Monggol language, the meaning of "mulanmuqi" is "red cultural working corps." Thus it was hoped that this small "offshoot" could blossom into brilliant flowers for the party and the people. It spent 30 years of effort to realize these wishes.

In December 1964, this wulanmuqi tiny "flower of the art and culture of the nationalities" held in the capital city of Beijing an "exhibition of the spare-time popular art of the minority nationalities of the nation." Its grassland songs, dances, and musical programs, which were rich in the special features of the nationalities and in local characteristics and the modern spirit, won the unanimous acclaim of the central leadership and the Beijing masses. The corps was warmly received by the party and state leadership comrades including Chairman Mao Zedong himself. Prime Minister Zhou Enlai ordered the Ministry of Culture to organize roving exhibitions by the wulanmuqi to various parts of the country so as to propagate in a grand way the wulanmuqi's correct direction and to promote its organizational pattern of "one team serving many uses and each member having one specialty but many capabilities." In the 7 and 1/2 months from summer 1965 to spring 1966, the itinerary of wulanmuqi covered over 110,000 li, reaching all the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions of the country except Taiwan Province. It staged exhibitions for over 1 million people of various nationalities and circles, was given extensive welcome, and exerted a vastly important influence.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, wulanmuqi prospered all the more. Under the extremely good situation of further enforcing the party's nationality and other policies, the party committee and the people's government of the autonomous region paid even greater attention to strengthening the basic construction of the wulanmuqi in various aspects such as politics, ideology, organization, and business. The cultural department of the autonomous region took a further step in consolidating the ranks of the wulanmuqi, enabled its ranks to grow stronger, and greatly enhanced its members' political quality and business qualities. At present, on the Nei Monggol grassland, over 50 banners (counties) have set up wulanmuqi's. They comprise a total force of over 1,000 members. In 1985, the people's government of the autonomous region, on the basis of summing up wulanmuqi's nearly 30 years of experience in actual practice, formally promulgated the "Regulations Governing the Work of the Wulanmuqi." The regulations clarified provisions concerning wulanmuqi's nature, tasks, guidelines and political work, structural management, source of expenses, and so forth. In September 1983, Comrade Deng Xiaoping personally wrote with great force and vigor 17 large Chinese characters as an inscription for the wulanmuqi. The characters carried the meaning of "urging the development and praise of the wulanmuqi work style of wholeheartedly serving the people." Comrade Ulanfu also wrote an inscription on the theme of "letting the flower of wulanmuqi bloom throughout the whole country." Both of these inscriptions fully reflect the central authorities' fond hopes on wulanmuqi work.

The party and the state have laid great importance on the wulanmuqi's successes in the field of art and culture, believing that they relatively well manifested the mass character, national character, level of art, and spirit of the age of the national art and cultural enterprise of socialist China. Hence, many times they dispatched wulanmuqi's as cultural ambassadors to take part in international exchange activities. Wulanmuqi's have successively visited 18 countries and made pleasing contributions to the fatherland's external cultural exchange work. In 1981, when a "wulanmuqi subunit of artists" comprising only six members visited Japan, the members' excellent performances not only won mass acclaim but stirred up a strong longing for the homeland on the part of certain Chinese residents of Monggol origin who had stayed in Japan for many years. They repeatedly expressed the wish that in their lifetime they could return to the fatherland to take a look at their hometowns.

Over the past 30 years, under the party's careful nursing and the warm concern of people of various nationalities, the wulanmuqi artistic enterprise has accomplished successes and accumulated valuable experiences in various areas by firmly insisting on serving the people and serving socialism. Forty-five years ago Comrade Mao Zedong already mentioned the two basic problems of whom and how cultural and artistic work should serve. Wulanmuqi's actual practice in the field of art has provided rich experience for the solution of these two problems. In Comrade Mao Zedong's opinion, in order to solve these two problems well, first of all we should be well acquainted with the objects of our services and able to wholeheartedly serve the people. Since the wulanmuqi members were originally kids herding sheep and cattle and milking maids, they were most aware of the elderly generation's sorrowful



situation of lack of culture, recreation, and spiritual nourishment. This naturally aroused their fervent wishes to render services to the elderly folks. Since the wulanmuqi corps must go deep into the grass-roots level of the masses, they must insist that their organization be small and concise, that their members possess one specialty but various capabilities, that their programs consist of small but diversified items, and that their equipment must be light and readily movable. The corps, comprising each not over 20 people, usually carry along musical instruments, garments, show slides, recorders, cinema projectors, books, and albums. They must be able to stage shows when and as needed, be on the move at all times, and their members must be ready to suffer hardships, literally traveling long distances every day of the year but meeting very few households on the way. Members of the corps not only must suffer and work hard but also must train to be specialized in at least one art but capable of doing other duties, be able to play the violin and sing, be generally capable of making on-the-spot speeches, and be able to dance, stage shows, guide others, handle show slides, project films, explain pictures and cartoons, compose stories, handle the pen, and do drawing and painting work. At the same time, they must handle such other jobs as mending and washing apparel, making tools, repairing equipment, operating power generators, and working as stagehands in putting up or dismantling temporary stages. The corps members are only too glad to do work of this kind. Elderly wulanmuqi leader Rexi of Etu Banner joined the wulanmuqi ranks in his early twenties and for a number of years served in that capacity. He has offered the most valuable years of his life and his unlimited loyalty to the party and the people and to the wulanmuqi artistic enterprise, and has become the well-known "elderly hero" of the wulanmuqi corps.

Wulanmuqi's art technique came from the people and is used to serve the people. The fruits of its art technique have been unreservedly retained for offering to the people. This is its most outstanding characteristic.

Starting from its birth, wulanmuqi has constantly kept in mind that its source is the people and the elders in the homeland. As the children of the pastoral people, they are deeply aware of their own responsibilities of unconditionally placing their art technique at the service of the elderly people in their homeland and also to serve the people of the various nationalities. Those who have seen wulanmuqi performances have unanimously felt that the performances are full of life, display our national colors most brilliantly, and present the spirit of the era in an outstanding manner. In the 30 years since wulanmuqi's establishment, its creations and performances have in a large measure reflected the songs, dances, and various varieties of music and art programs of the new people, new conditions, and new atmosphere of the Nei Monggol pastoral area. Nearly all their materials have been drawn directly from the pastoral people's traditional legacy of culture or from their actual life struggles. Themes such as "Pastoral Hero," "Dish-Stick Dance," "Rainbow," "Pleasure," "Chopstick Dance," "Eerhdor Wedding Ceremony," "Invitation Card," "Nice Nei Monggol Area," "Children of the Grassland Greatly Love Yanan," and so on, are all true reflections of grassland life and the people's sentiments. Hence, they have been well received by the pastoral people. Comrade Tao Zhu described the wulanmuqi theater of

art as "a ball of fire" and "full of fresh air." Premier Zhou Enlai said that he would like to have this wulanmuqi "ball of fire" kindled and spread throughout the country. An Austrian minister of finance, after seeing the performances, was moved to tears and repeatedly praised them as exceptionally moving. According to incomplete statistics, in the 30 years since wulanmuqi's establishment the number of people who have seen wulanmuqi performances on various occasions is about 164 million man-times. Among these spectators, apart from the peasants and the pastoral people, there were PLA officers and cadets, staff members and workers of factories and mines, cadres of departments, teachers and students of educational institutions, party and government leaders, as well as various circles of people of foreign countries. Art is needed by the people but even more art needs the people. It is the people who have nurtured the wulanmuqi enterprise; and it is life that has supplied wulanmuqi with the nutrients of art that are endless, undepletable, ever brilliant, and always new despite frequent uses. In selecting the titles for its creations, the mode of presentation, the equipment and arrangement of musical instruments up to the organization of the corps, wulanmuqi has directly obtained its materials from the people's livelihood in the pastoral areas or has followed the traditional cultural demands of the pastoral people in carrying them out. Hence, when the vast pastoral masses see in wulanmuqi artistic performances the various scenes of their own livelihood, they feel extremely close to them. A noble sense of responsibility has stirred up members of the wulanmuqi corps to try ways and means to make contributions to the people and even in a wider scope to serve more people. In the countryside, the wulanmuqi corps frequently condescended to perform for a handful of elderly herdsmen or the patients of a clinic. In the roving exhibitions throughout the country, the members have been tirelessly making special trips to various places and on various occasions such as for comforting the home folks of the revolutionary martyrs, singing songs and dancing for the benefit of the elders of the revolution in Jiangxi Province, carrying water and cleaning house for the aged mother of Huang Jiguang who had performed especially meritorious services for the state, hair-cutting for father Dong Chuanzhong of the war hero Dong Cunrui, and offering flowers before the tombs of martyr Zhang Side and heroine Liu Hulan, both of whom had wholeheartedly served the people. The wulanmuqi corps' meticulous services have naturally won the hearts of the pastoral people and have redoubled the latter's concern for their well-being. They would be provided with the best food in the countryside and invited to stay in the most comfortable homes. When some of the members fell sick, they were given the utmost care. When it was found that some of the members persisted in their performances despite their illness, the people would follow the corps on their way out and continue to provide it with care until they were quite some distance away. On one occasion, a wulanmuqi rubber-wheeled cart was stalled by sand along a road. The pastoral people literally covered the road with carpet patches to enable the cart to move along.

That wulanmuqi artcraft has constantly retained the vigor of youth may be traced to an important cause, namely, that it can more readily solve the reciprocal relations between inheriting and introducing and between popularizing and elevating.

Utilizing its strong points of "being one corps for many uses and having one specialty but many capabilities," wulanmuqi has fully tapped and inherited the cultural legacies of the nationalities and of the people and thus extensively enriched its own artistic renditions. For example, we may cite its group dances which have a rich grassland atmosphere, its individual dances manifesting great ease and comfort, its graceful "an dai" dances, its folk songs which make people relaxed and happy, the sundry sorts of musical and stage programs which smell thickly of the grassland nationality atmosphere, as well as the many and different kinds of musical instruments handed down from the ages. More recently, through the assistance of some elderly artists, the corps members have rehabilitated a so-called "zhao-er" method of singing, reputed to have been highly difficult and said to have been lost or missing for over 50 years, thus adding to the luster of wulanmuqi musical renditions.

Ever since the founding of the wulanmuqi corps and while paying great attention to inheriting and carrying on the cultural legacies of the localities, wulanmuqi has actively absorbed the best of the artcrafts of outside provinces and regions and of fraternal nationalities. Its many roving exhibitions in the country during the 1960's and its subsequent comfort tours to various places as well as its visits to foreign countries have all provided favorable conditions for wulanmuqi to learn and copy others' experiences. Actual practice has shown that all this played an important role in rapidly enhancing wulanmuqi's artistic level. The "comic dialogue" or "cross talk" as a form of stage rendition was nonexistent in the traditional art of the Monggol nationality and of the wulanmuqi, but wulanmuqi corps have introduced it to the stage after making certain revisions in combination with certain forms of traditional stagecraft of the Nei Monggol region. It has received the welcome of spectators and audiences of various nationalities, including the pastoral people. Moreover, Western musical instruments such as the hand organ and the electronic organ, which used to be nonexistent among wulanmuqi traditional musical instruments, have also been put to use in its musical programs.

In handling the relation between popularizing and elevating, wulanmuqi has also experienced success. During the initial period of the founding of wulanmuqi, naturally the artistic level of its renditions could not be said to have been very high but wulanmuqi insisted on the contents and forms being popularized and revolutionized. As a result they were well received by the pastoral people. Subsequently, the level of wulanmuqi creations and performances steadily mounted in actual practice and the pastoral people were all the more pleased and delighted. People not only have come to like seeing some of the favorite wulanmuqi presentations but also self-consciously begun to copy them and promote them with the result that literally while the wulanmuqi artcraft had come from the people it was ultimately returned to the people. Thus, wulanmuqi has built a bridge connecting art and the people. In addition, wulanmuqi is known to have trained a number of celebrated artists for the state's first-grade literary and art bodies. This may similarly be cited as a success in solving the problem of popularizing and elevating.

Lenin once said that people should have the right to demand that they be shown performances better than those found in the circus. Likewise our party Central Committee has called on the literary workers to provide the people with spiritual productions of a larger quantity and a better quality. Under the precondition of firmly insisting on serving the people at the grass-roots level, wulanmuqi has striven hard to improve the level of its own artcraft. This is precisely manifesting, and in a better way, this spirit. Nevertheless, seen from the long-term view of building socialist spiritual civilization, the road from now on will be a long one and the work will be even more difficult and arduous. Under the firm leadership of the party and the people's government, with the concern and support of people of the various nationalities and with the over 1,000 members of the wulanmuqi corps united in heart and soul in struggle, the wulanmuqi flower will surely blossom even more brilliantly.

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## STRIKING DEEP ROOT IN THE REALITY OF THE PEOPLE'S LIFE

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 28-29

[Article by Jia Jun [0163 1498] (of the Monggol nationality)]

[Text] For over 20 years I have firmly believed that social life is the source of literature and art and hence have insisted on striking root in the people's life. Through thick and thin I have gone through life with the masses, washed my soul clean, opened wide my vision, and filled in and replenished my life. I have striven to make my creations like small grass striking root in the fertile soil of life.

Going deep into life makes one feel people's greatness. In the beginning, I worked as a reporter with a party newspaper in Nei Monggol. For a prolonged period I associated with workers of the Baiyunepu iron mine, the Shiguai coal mine, the Ajila engineering department, and the Baotou Iron and Steel Company. Staying with the worker masses, I was deeply impressed by their diligence, frankness, honesty, and breadth of mind and vision. A coal mine worker had been under the pit picking coal for several shifts in succession. Lack of sleep had made his eyes sleepy and he was pale in appearance. At mealtime, his mother, somewhat heartbroken, asked him about the cause of his pale appearance. He just smiled a little and replied: "Only coal dust on my face; haven't had time to wash it yet!" Later, this same worker suffered a broken leg bone and was sent to the hospital for treatment. But he sneaked out of the hospital and asked to be allowed to continue coal picking. If I had not stayed in his home and lived with him for some time, I would not have been able to know such details. I have seen with my own eyes hundreds and thousands of ordinary workers working hard, stubbornly fighting, and in the end succeeding in turning Baotou city into a basically modern industrial city. Subsequently I was transferred to the editorial department of the MINZUTUANJIE magazine, published under the auspices of the National Minority Affairs Commission. My reporting, investigation, and research work brought me south to Hainan Island and north to the banks of the Lii river, coming into extensive contact with the masses of various nationalities, particularly the minority nationalities in the border areas. I had the feeling that the more places I visited, the more I realized the wide expanse of the territory of the fatherland; and the more people I contacted, the greater was my feeling of how exalted and good were the people's heart and soul. I met with people working silently and in a down-to-earth manner at various

ordinary posts. A first look at them could reveal nothing startling but if we cast our eyes at the endless number of such common people it can be revealed that they are creating a new world and pushing the wheels of history forward. Before my eyes are frequent reminiscences of these people toiling under the hot sun and sweating while in my ears constantly echo the sounds of their songs. The good souls of these hardy workers have always inspired me and urged me to write songs of eulogy in their honor.

Going deep into life makes one feel intimately the beauty of people's lives. Since childhood I have become fully acquainted with the life of the Monggol people and with their bravery, their unconstrained character, their honesty, and their kindliness. Listening on horseback to the directives of the Monggol tribal leader, hearing in a Monggol yurt the rhymes of the Matou organ, and seeing before my eyes the brave Monggol horsemen and the ever giggling milking maidens--all this often aroused my desire to recreate the superior sentiments of our nationality. I have lived day and night with the kin and folks of the pastoral people, am acquainted with their lives, fully understand their heart and soul and have shared with them their joys and sorrows. "Soaked" for long in the living environments of the Monggol people, and in the course of a livelihood which outwardly appeared to have been simple and ordinary, I have added to my collection of moving details about the people and to my knowledge of their wit and wisdom. In the life of the Monggol people, I discovered an element of utmost beauty which strikes the hearts of people, and in my innocence like that of a newborn babe and out of my warm love for my own people I wrote and completed the novel "Camel Bells." This creation of mine has received the encouragement of many readers and has also been given an award. After reading "Camel Bells," noted writer Sun Li commented: "A writer must be closely associated with the destiny of his own people. His accounts must include those of the people's rise and fall, successes and failures, strong points and weak points, sorrows and joys. Included also should be the people's mode of life and their morals and manners. I am not acquainted with the Monggol people but I was able, in reading your novel, to find all the above and also to see your innocent attachment to your own people."

Going deep into life enables one to correctly grasp the main stream of the era and to correctly reflect the wishes of the masses. Aside from the workers and pastoral people, through the years I have intentionally come into contact with people at various levels and in various professions, clearly finding out their thoughts and what they are striving for. I have formed this concept: The common wishes of the millions of people control the direction of history's advance. From the end of the 1960's to the 1970's, and from the reality of life, I discovered that youths waiting for employment was a serious social problem. Following fully 5 years of observation and thinking, I began work on the creation "'Dog's' Offspring in a House of Tigers." Since this was an important topic extremely difficult to grasp, from the very beginning I wrote some 80,000 characters to no avail and had no way to proceed further. However, when the thought came to me of the sorrows and sufferings of the large number of young people waiting for employment in the country and of the expectations of their family members, a solemn sense of responsibility which went deep into the lives of the unemployed youths urged me on to complete the

creation. Because this creation had its source in real life and was in contact with a delicate social problem with which all people were concerned, or rather because it reflected the wishes of the vast masses of people, particularly the wishes of unemployed youths, it was first carried in XIAOSHUO JIA magazine, later republished in XIAOSHUO YUE BAO and BEIJING WAN BAO, broadcast by the broadcasting station, and was subsequently given the first "hundred flowers award" in a commentary of XIAOSHUO YUE BAO. The support and commendation given by the vast masses of people to this novel, which paid close attention to the problem of youths awaiting employment, has fortified my confidence in the need of further going deep into life and boldly creating and writing for the sake of the people.

Going deep into life enables one to discover many socialist new people who have ideals, are virtuous and cultured, and stick to discipline. It also enables one to firmly and irrevocably create and cast classical forms of literature and art that can be traced to the actual life of socialist new people. Beginning from my publishing my first short story, "The Bugler," when I was only 16, in the nearly 100 novels I have written, I have always demanded of myself to manifest a new world, to cast new people, and to employ their truly perfect and noble sentiments to mold the readers. I have devoted much time to go into life to look for and discover people with good sentiments, to study the original pattern of these real personages and, on that basis, to proceed with my writing work. I have hoped that my creations have the color of ideals and present the truth, goodness, and beauty of life. I have planned to make use of the artistic charm of the characters in these creations to exert a subtle influence on the readers and to provide spiritual food for man's progress, well-being, and happiness. Following the publication and broadcasting of my production "Going After Light," many readers have written to me voicing their support of my practices in art creation of always casting and creating new people. They have voiced the hope of seeing in my creations characters who are lively and vivacious, who are worthy of love and respect, and who can give people strength for advancement. I have always felt that our PLA heroes, who are using their flesh and blood to protect the fatherland are people who centrally manifest the spirit of our times. With deep sentiments of respect and friendship, in the border areas of Xinjiang, Xizang, Nei Monggol, and Guangxi, I visited comrades and brothers of the PLA and established deep ties of friendship with them. On the heroic battle front of Fakashan, I made friends with many heroes. Their exalted spirit inspired me, taught me, and urged me on to battle alongside with them. I have been sanctioned to be the honorary warrior of the PLA forces in Fakashan. To ask as a warrior is to wield the pen in eulogy of our heroic armed forces.

My creations are still in the learning and probing stage. Those that have already been published clearly show their immaturity and shallowness. I vow to continue to go into life and to strive hard in my creations so as to thank the people of the various nationalities for the concern and love they have bestowed on me. I must perform well the job of being the bugler and songster of the Monggol nationality and of the Chinese people and use my heart and soul to tend the flower of literature and art for presentation to our socialist fatherland, the great union of various nationalities.

PRESCHOOL EDUCATION IS THE ENGINEERING THAT LAYS THE FOUNDATIONS FOR TRAINING  
A GENERATION OF NEW PEOPLE

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 30-33

[Article by Deng Hongxun [6772 7703 8113], secretary of the CPC Wuxi City  
Committee]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, with the concern of the whole party and the whole society, our country's preschool education has achieved tremendous development. Following the expansion and improvement of preschool educational facilities and the enriching and improvement of the teaching contingent, there has been an enormous improvement in terms of both preschool enrollment rates and the quality of education. The "CPC Central Committee Resolution on the Guiding Principles in the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization" pointed out: "The basic task in building socialist spiritual civilization, in accordance with the needs of socialist modernization, is to train socialist citizens who have ideas, morality, culture and discipline, and improve the ideological and moral qualities and the scientific and cultural qualities of the entire Chinese nation." This is an arduous task which will require the unstinting efforts of several generations to complete. We should fully recognize its major significance from the high plane of strategy.

I

Improving the ideological and moral qualities of people is an important aspect of the basic task of building socialist spiritual civilization. It will determine the spiritual mien and moral habits of the whole society. In improving ideological and moral qualities we must begin with young children. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Training in revolutionary ideals and communist morals must begin when people are young." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 102) In this sense, conducting ideological and moral elementary education at an early stage for young children is a basis for improving the ideological and moral quality of the whole nation.

In children, the period from age 3 to age 6 is the germination period in the formation of their individual tendencies and moral concepts. It is also the period of their greatest plasticity. Psychological research has now proved that the initial formation of individuality begins in the preschool period.



At this stage children begin to have the need and desire to participate in the practical activities of adult society, particularly labor and study. At the same time, their voluntary thought capacity begins to develop and the imitateness of actions is particularly strong. In another respect, the abilities of preschool children are limited. They are still unable to control their own actions well and the activities of a young child in the environment are sometimes successful and sometimes failures. However, as soon as success is achieved, and self-satisfaction and other people's approval are gained, the child can affirm that action mode, and thereby form a series of perceptual experiences. After these experiences gradually assume a stable form, they change into people's most basic individual characteristics and moral concepts. Once the characteristics of basic ideological and moral concepts and individual actions are formed, traces of them will be retained throughout people's lives. At this stage, if we carry out initial education in patriotism, loving the people, loving labor, loving science and technology, cherishing public property as well as in respecting teachers, respecting parents, loving the collective, loving one's small friends, respecting social order and other social morality and social discipline, these ideological, moral and disciplinary concepts will easily take root in the child's mind and will provide a firm base for the later improvement of communist moral qualities and the establishment of civilized activities and habits.

The mind of a child is like a blank sheet of paper. "If it is dyed blue, it will be blue and if it is dyed yellow, it will be yellow." Young children do not have the capacity for self-control or the ability to assess importance or right and wrong. At present in society, the ideological and moral mien is mainly a healthy, upwardly-oriented and progressive one. This benefits the healthy development of young children. However, at the same time we must recognize that at present we are in the initial stage of socialism. The vestiges left by the old society, such as bourgeois decadent ideas in the ideological field and remnant feudal ideology will continue to exist for a long time. Also, in society there exist many unhealthy tendencies and uncivilized customs. In such a situation, if we do not do well for the young child in creating a good, educational environment and we do not carry out initial socialist ideological and moral elementary education in a timely way, then it will be very difficult to resist the corrosion of young children by decadent bourgeois ideology, remnant feudal ideology and various uncivilized, benighted and backward things in social habits and customs. In Wuxi city there was the following example: There was a young couple who did not send their child to preschool and instead gave it to the grandmother to look after. The grandmother often took the child to participate in feudal superstitious activities. The result was that even while the grandmother could still not recite Buddhist scriptures, the child could recite them from memory. Another couple often hit and scolded their child, with the result that outside the house, the child often fought with other people. Furthermore, a phenomenon which the whole society should pay attention to is that following the increase in only children and the continual improvement in people's material and cultural lives, some families have been too doting on their children and let them do as they please. Many children have unconsciously formed bad habits. According to an investigation of 22 preschools in Wuxi city, of the only children who enrolled in preschools, many were "pampered, arrogant and

selfish." Along with this they lacked concern for the collective and for others, hated to leave comfort, had no love for labor and lacked an understanding of discipline. These characteristics all run counter to communist morality and social morality. If they are not instructed properly as young children, later education in patriotism and education in ideals, morality and discipline will meet with major difficulties. The above situation shows that finding how to realistically strengthen early moral education for young children is an extremely pressing task. The whole society and every family must take the ideological and moral education of young children as the base of the whole society's ideological and moral construction and grasp it firmly and well in order to safeguard the healthy development of children both physically and mentally.

## II

Another aspect of the basic task of building socialist spiritual civilization is to raise the scientific and cultural qualities of the whole nation. This also must begin with young children. The crux of improving the scientific and cultural qualities of the whole country lies in whether or not we pay attention to the development of people's intellect while they are young, so that they have a good capacity and a fondness for and interest in studying science and culture.

The period from age 3 to age 6 is a period of very rapid development in a child's intellect and comprehension capacity. From the physiological angle, the brain-weight of a 5-year-old child is about 95 percent that of an adult. In terms of psychological characteristics, the thought activities of children, although they still have a specific imagery nature and involuntary nature, have begun to develop an abstract summation capacity and voluntary thought abilities. Language abilities also develop quickly. This provides the physiological and psychological conditions for the children to receive elementary education. If we begin to carry out elementary education at a young age, not only will this promote the intellectual development of the child, but it will also provide a firm base for subsequent education.

The famous Soviet Union educationalist (?Makarenko) [7456 0595 6647 2688] has said: "The educational base is mainly laid before the age of 5. This comprises 90 percent of the entire educational process. After this, education can continue and develop further, but the flower of your meticulously cultivated abilities has already blossomed before the age of 5." ("Child Psychology," published by Shanghai Educational Publishing House, First Edition, December 1985, p 27) These words are extremely rational. The various types of knowledge necessary for people to engage in socialist modernization of course mainly come from education and study after childhood. However, the base is laid mainly in the years of childhood. On the one hand, in the years of childhood, through early education, the young child is allowed to use its brain early and often. This can promote the development of brain functions and this will benefit carrying out later intellectual activities. On the other hand, the early education of children can speed the development of the children's language abilities and abstract summation thought abilities. This is good preparation for subsequent primary education

and will foster the good habits of warmly loving science and of studying hard. All these factors will inevitably have a major and lasting influence on the intellectual development of a person all their life. In fact, according to what has been advised by many primary school teachers in Wuxi city, the language ability, breadth of knowledge, calculating abilities, and musical and art attainments of children who have received preschool education far surpass those of children who have not received preschool education. Therefore, if we consider the entire educational system as a pyramid, then preschool education is the pyramid's base. Lofty towers are built up from the ground, and if we want to improve the overall quality of education we must do well in providing the base of preschool education.

As far as the improvement of people's scientific and cultural qualities are concerned, another thing worthy of attention is that the development of a person's intellect and abilities often is selective in time terms. That is to say, the development of a particular skill or ability is best suited to a particular age. If that opportunity is taken then the gains can be reaped all one's life, but if the opportunity is lost, while supplements can be arranged, it will undoubtedly be difficult to achieve good results. Take for example the basic language skills and basic thought skills through which the various types of education are received. These skills are gradually formed and determined at a young age. An adage says that half of what one sees at 3 years old will be remembered until old age. There is a certain truth in this. If we take this beneficial opportunity, and on the basis of the child's physiological and psychological characteristics, develop at an early stage the child's language and thought skills, it may lead to the best development of the child's intellect and make him more intelligent. Therefore the young child stage clearly is the first key period in fostering people's abilities. If in this key period we lose the opportunity to provide the necessary education, then the losses incurred with respect to improving the scientific and cultural qualities of the whole nation and in fostering people's abilities will be difficult to calculate and difficult to make up.

### III

The development of the cause of preschool education requires down-to-earth measures.

First, we must not begrudge a certain amount of investment to build and develop preschool education kindergartens and facilities in urban and rural areas. At present the whole society has begun to place importance on developing education. However, in general our nation's tertiary, middle-school and primary-school education already has a certain base, while the preschool education cause which forms the base of educational system pyramid is still very weak. If this problem is not resolved it will sooner or later result in it dragging all education into a position behind economic and social development. We can use tens of millions of yuan to build an enterprise or hotel. Why can we not use a certain amount of money to build kindergartens? The practice of the Wuxi city districts in preschool educational development in urban and rural areas has shown that as long as the party and government leaders at various levels pay enough attention to this

and on the precondition of achieving results in the economic reforms, if we spend a certain amount of money to develop preschool education, then within 3 to 5 years the problem of it being difficult to enroll in kindergarten can be solved. Beginning in 1980 and continuing till now, in Wuxi city at the city and district level, more investments have gradually been put into preschool education. These investments totaled 10.84 million yuan (not including departmental and enterprise investments). At the same time, we implemented the policy of combining the development of government-run, nongovernment-run and enterprise-run kindergartens and encouraged departments and those enterprises, collectives and units with the conditions to run kindergartens, and thereby have greatly speeded up the development of the Wuxi preschool educational cause. Through the development in these 5 years and especially in the last 3 years, the number of kindergartens in the Wuxi city districts has increased from 179 in 1979, to 244 today and the number of preschoolers attending these kindergartens has risen from 14,541 to 29,360, a doubling in number. The preschool enrollment rate has risen from 40 percent to 84.8 percent. In the villages of 3 counties--Jiangyin, Wuxi and Yixing--there are now 978 kindergartens. Of the 4-7 year olds, 104,962 have entered kindergarten, an average enrollment rate of 78.78 percent. The problem of being unable to enroll in kindergarten has been basically resolved in urban and rural areas.

Second, we must actively reform the preschool educational management system. In 1981, the Central Committee stipulated that women's federation groups at all levels should take preschool education as the focus of their work. Since that time the enthusiasm of the various levels of women's federation groups has been very high. With ardor and sincerity they have used their special advantages in organizing the masses, motivated strength on all sides, coordinated various related departments and in a thousand and one ways, developed preschool educational work. This has resulted in the rapid revival and development of the childcare cause in urban and rural areas. However, following the development of preschool education and the deepening of people's understanding of preschool education, existing management systems have clearly become unsuitable. In order to further develop preschool education and raise the quality of it, in the future we need to utilize the positive role of women's federation groups at all levels. However, overall, because preschool education is an important and inseparable component of the overall educational system, it must be placed on the national educational track. To this end, we must establish a management system which is managed by education departments and which has the participation of various levels of women's federation groups, trade union groups and other relevant departments. Since last year, Wuxi city has promoted this reform in an overall way and verified results have been relatively good. For example, since the Beitang District Cultural and Educational Bureau of Wuxi city began to directly manage preschool education, with the support of the district government, they specially convened a preschool work conference for the entire district, corrected the understandings of cadres, especially cultural and educational cadres, regarding preschool education, and strengthened management guidance over preschool educational work. It has divided the various government-run, nongovernment-run and enterprise-run kindergartens into several groups and, in accordance with their different situations, carried out different guidance and organized



educational research activities and training activities at the district level, group level and kindergarten level. Apart from this, it has also arranged for preschool teachers to be in vocational training plans, done its utmost to improve the quality of teachers and thereby achieved a clear improvement in the educational quality and child welfare quality in all types of and at all levels of kindergartens.

Third, we must make efforts to enrich and improve the ranks of preschool teachers. The key to improving preschool education lies in its teachers. But it is actually the teachers who are the weakest point. From 1979 to 1980, the teacher situation in urban and rural kindergartens in Wuxi was quite poor. Many are aged, uneducated and weak or sick. In the last few years, by starting a preschool teacher training course at Wuxi Teacher Training College, by running vocational preschool teachers training course in various counties and establishing a preschool education teachers training center, we have strengthened prevocational and postvocational training, resulting in an improvement in the quality of preschool teachers. Now Wuxi city (including the three directly administered counties) has 5,380 preschool teachers. Of course, 667 or 12.4 percent have received specialized preschool teacher training. Of the other teachers, 1,874 or 34.8 percent have graduated from teacher training middle schools or upper middle schools; 1,975 or 36.7 percent have graduated from lower middle schools, and 864 or 16.1 percent have an educational level below lower middle school level. It can be seen that the quality of our city's preschool teacher contingent is still not very ideal. Therefore, we need to make great efforts in strengthening work in this respect. At the same time, we need to put efforts into improving the treatment of preschool teachers and develop the habit in society of respecting the work of preschool teachers. Party and government leaders at all levels must concern themselves with the problems of preschool education personnel and help them resolve their difficulties in education and livelihood. The difficulties faced at present by teachers in collectively run or privately run kindergartens are even greater, so they must be paid more attention. Apart from this, in order to develop preschool education, we must put great efforts into developing scientific research into preschool education and, by combining theory and practice create a preschool education theory with Chinese characteristics, to guide the development and improve the quality of preschool education.

In brief, the cause of preschool education is of wide-ranging strategic significance. If we consider the fostering of a generation of new people with the "four requirements" and the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics as a huge systematic process, then preschool education is the foundation. We must respond to the call by the CPC Central Committee for the whole party and the whole society to concern themselves with children and, for our future, and in order to invigorate China, in a down-to-earth and very practical way we must greatly develop the cause of preschool education and strive to create a new situation in preschool educational work.

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## TALKING ABOUT THE QUESTION OF COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH

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[Article by Chen Yuning [7115 5148 1337]]

[Text] History is an extremely complex comprehensive entity. Even if we only look at the history of human society, it is very wide-ranging. Scientifically reflecting on the comprehensive nature of objective history is both a task of historiography and also a key point in the development and flourishing of historiography. I would like to put forward a few preliminary ideas on several questions regarding comprehensive research.

### I

Comprehensive research in historiography is the primary research target of historiography and this is determined by the comprehensive nature of the history of human society. Its comprehensive characteristics are manifested in: 1) Time. There has already been a history of 2 to 3 million years, and even if we calculate it from when writing was invented, there is still a history of several thousand years. This very long process of movement has been a development from a low level to a high level and has followed certain objective patterns which manifest differences in time. 2) Space. Mankind carries out its activities within the broad scope of the world. Under the restrictions of the different objective conditions it carries out its activities which are both internally connected and have their own characteristics. The similarities and differences between these things and those things form the entirety of human society. 3) Contents. In the multifarious forms of social phenomena, in general, we include the phenomena of social life, political life and spiritual life. The various phenomena have various characteristics and differences in terms of their period and region. Although they are the same social phenomenon, they differ in terms of quality, quantity and level. In brief, the development of human social history has both vertical (temporal) and horizontal (spatial) characteristics and these determine the macrodevelopment of history. The historical development of our nation fully manifests the characteristics of comprehensiveness. Many nationalities have appeared in the extremely long historical process. They engaged in activities on the expansive land, but natural conditions and economic and cultural developments were very unbalanced. When several political forces existed concurrently, the systems of law and regulations also differed. Tremendous

differences existed between nationalities in terms of customs and production modes, and each nationality created its own culture with particular characteristics. Throughout several thousand years and across several thousand li, these various differences and relationships have formed China's history. Historiography, as a science, must be able to reflect the true picture of the history of the development of human society. Therefore, it can be said that no field of study embraces such a wide range, both in time and space, as historiography and no field of study needs to answer questions more wide-ranging than those historiography must answer. Historiography is a comprehensive science and a social and nationality encyclopedia.

Comprehensive historiographical research is determined by the basic task of revealing the patterns of historical development in human society. Although the vast temporal and spatial carrier which is human society is greatly complex and is full of twists and turns it is not disordered and unsystematic, but always moves and develops in accordance with certain patterns. In basic terms, the task of historiography is to find these patterns so that people can more consciously do things in accordance with the patterns and continually progress. But if we are to achieve this, apart from having a correct guiding ideology, it is necessary to examine overall the various phenomena of society, pull off the various levels of veils which cover it and exclude all the chance factors. The fact that Marx and Engels were able to reveal the direction of development of human society was a result of their comprehensive investigation of the various social phenomena not only in one country, but in many countries. If they had explored concrete patterns in one particular field, and not done comprehensive research, they would have been unable to achieve success.

Comprehensive historiographical research is also a requirement of the development of China's historiography. Our nation has a very long tradition of history writing. There is a huge number of historiographical works and these have not declined over time. In these multitudinous and diverse history books is embodied the wisdom and abilities of feudal historians. They created many beneficial methods and experiences in the writing of history which are worthy of our reference. However, because of the restrictions of the times, in Chinese feudal historiography there unavoidably existed the "two major deficiencies" pointed out by Lenin: 1) "At most, it examines the ideological motives of people's historical activities, but does not investigate the reasons related to the motive of production. It does not seek the objective patterns in the development of the system of social relationships, and it does not see that the process of material production development is the origin of these relationships." 2) "It does not explain the activities of the masses." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 586) At the same time, in terms of the aim of writing history, historiography, since its inception has always existed as a political appendage of the ruling class and has served the political goals of the ruling class. Thus, the contents of feudal historiography have stressed political history and the history of dynastic change. Also, the classification, acceptance or rejection and appraisal of historical works has always changed in accordance with political needs. This has meant that the scope and contents of research have been very narrow and much of it has been description. Also, these descriptive contents, because they are imbued with a strong sense of feudal orthodoxy, cannot reveal

the true face of history. In terms of the methods of writing history, because of the restrictions of the form of individual small-scale production, feudal historians, in their view, thoughts and analyses of problems, often found it difficult to leap out of their narrow enclosures and they failed to carry out dialectical and systematic analyses, comparisons, syntheses and summaries of the social phenomena reflected in the rich volume of historical materials. Instead, they stressed gathering historical materials, distinguishing fakes, comparisons and corrections, textual research, and annotation and compilation. Of course this is not to say that feudal historiography accomplished nothing in terms of comprehensive research. Rather, consciously or unconsciously, it explored and realized many achievements in opening up areas, enriching its contents and diversifying types of works. However, regardless of whether we speak of the very famous Sima Qian, who wanted to "comprehend the changes from the past to the present" or Zhang Xuecheng, who enjoyed the high reputation of writing about "a period of several thousand years, involving a length and breadth of 90,000 li," in no case did they carry out multifaceted, overall macroexaminations. Hence they did not find clues to the numerous and complex historical enigmas.

When Marxism entered China it brought China's ancient historiography a scientific ideological weapon. The older generation of Marxist historians took revealing the patterns of China's social development as their basic task. They fully affirmed the historical role and position of the masses, and through their own research overcame the basic deficiencies of traditional historiography and established a base for our nation's Marxist historical science. In terms of research methods, they began to break through the fetters of feudal traditions and used scientific methodology to open up research fields. They carried out macro-investigations of social history, thereby providing historical research with new understandings and breakthroughs. For example, many Marxist historical works, by investigating historical personages and events and examining and correcting historical materials mastered the specific and special nature of various historical phenomena. Then, taking a comprehensive approach they drew out the commonality and the patterns contained within them. In this way they have combined micro-research with macro-research and have achieved major results. However, it should be recognized that within our nation's current historical research ranks, the older generation of specialists and scholars and a number of backbone middle-aged historiographical workers were basically trained and developed along the road of traditional history study. Their basic achievements, their hard-working spirit, and their earnest attitude toward research are all worthy of our study, inheritance and development. However, because of its various innate restrictions, the traditional road of the study of history can easily lead historiographical workers to form closed viewpoints. It is also often not beneficial, from an overall angle, in examining and researching the many pieces of history which have been cut apart and appear unconnected. For example, in the comprehensive question of "social nature" which involves the mutual relationships and mutual roles of politics, economics and culture, research in economics generally only stresses the analysis of the economic structure, research in politics generally only stresses the analysis of the political structure and research



in culture generally stresses cultural research. This is not beneficial in comprehensively analyzing research as different aspects of a single entity. It should also be recognized that the emergence of Marxist historiography is closely related to the needs of the development of the revolutionary struggle. In general, we should stress research in revolutionary history, but revolutionary history is not the entire contents of history. Engels, when he noted that "it is necessary to study history in its entirety," mentioned economic history, commercial history, industrial history, agricultural history, etc. and particularly stressed paying attention to the relationship between economic history and political history, legal history, religious history, literary history, and general cultural history. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, pp 432, 433, 283) Thus the further development of Marxist historiography is also a question of continuing to open up research fields and strengthening comprehensive research.

At present, the development of society and the influence of the new technological revolution has also placed new demands on the development of historiography. Many historiographical workers have begun to recognize the problems faced by historical research, they have begun to pay attention to the need to strengthen comprehensive research, and there has been a clear tendency toward in-depth development. However, the question of how to strengthen comprehensive research is still a major topic in current historiographical development.

## II

In general, comprehensive historiographical research means the dialectical analysis and inductive synthesis of historical materials so that the research results accurately reflect the comprehensiveness possessed by history itself. Specifically, the elementary needs are twofold: 1) Expanding the research field to enlarge the scope for macro-understanding. 2) Making efforts to utilize the knowledge and research methods of many fields of study to improve the capacity for macro-understanding.

Expanding the research field and carrying out multifaceted research. This is a problem which needs to be resolved in terms of contents in the strengthening of comprehensive research. If we are to overcome the defect of narrowness in research fields in the past, we must strengthen research into specialized histories other than political history, such as legal history, the history of science and technology, financial history, urban history, cultural history, art history, regional history, Chinese-foreign relations history, etc. Opening up new research fields will enable us to gain a greater and more overall understanding of the whole picture of objective history. For example, in recent years research on the history of minority nationalities has been strengthened and this has allowed us to more clearly recognize the extremely important position of the history of minority nationalities in researching China's history. If we do not fully research the history of minority nationalities, we will not be able to reflect the innate patterns of our nation's historical development and the objective reality in the formation and development of our great motherland, and we will therefore not have a complete history of China. Also, social

history is a specialized history which researches the changes in social life activities. However, our research in this area since the founding of the PRC has been extremely weak. Reviving and developing research in social history is another extremely pressing problem. Through research in social history and combining the social questions of a certain period, such as the social structure, population structure, family, clans, recreation, fashions, social intercourse, clothing, food, housing, travel, customs, etc. with class struggle and political struggle, we will be able to ensure that historiography not only has bones but also has flesh and blood. In this way we will truly form a full-bodied historiography and we will come close to historical reality.

Opening up research into fringe disciplines is another part of the development of research fields. There are many fields of study which overlap with historiography, and between them there is a wide belt of intersection. Researching these fringe disciplines in this intersecting belt not only provides more conditions for comprehensive research and enriches the contents of historical research, but has a more pressing direct role in today's reality. For example, in the intersection between the study of history, the study of geography and the study of economics, there are many problems which cannot be completely resolved simply by relying on research in a single discipline. If we comprehensively use the theories and methods of these three disciplines to develop research into regional economic history, not only will we achieve new research results, but we will also provide a decisionmaking basis for formulating socioeconomic development strategies in some area. In the intersection between the study of history and the study of politics, developing research on the history of political systems and ancient administrative management will not only deepen the examination of the evolution of traditional government positions and the assessment of historical personages, but will also provide a historical basis for research into issues such as policy making and personnel selection. In brief, the purpose of multifaceted research and research into fringe disciplines is to expand the vision of historiographers to the various aspects of social life so that they can see the relationships and mutual roles between them, and can reveal in an overall way the actual features and development patterns of history.

Here it needs to be pointed out that when carrying out comprehensive research we must handle well the relationship between this and research on dynastic histories and various specialized histories. We all know that comprehensive research is based on concrete historical research. Only after we have become clear about the events, persons and changes in various situations will we be able to carry out multifaceted comprehensive research. Separate specialized research indeed makes it easy for questions to develop and deepen. However, if we do not pay attention to comprehensive research and only engage in an isolated static examination of history, we will not see the relationship between one dynasty and the previous or latter dynasties, we will not see the position of specialized history in overall history and it will be difficult for research results to reflect the true face of a particular stage or a particular aspect of history. Comprehensive research on this basis likewise will not reflect the overall aspect of history. Thus the two are essential to each other, and in general neither should be overlooked.

Apart from the necessity of carrying out multifaceted research on the contents of history, carrying out multilevel research is also a requirement for strengthening comprehensive research. If we divide it into general levels, historical research has at least the following levels: Textual verification research--included in this level are historical textual research and historical compilations. This is the basis for historical research. Analytical and inductive research--included in this level is specific research into historical personages, historical events, social systems and other questions. Exploratory research into patterns--this level includes for example probing into the patterns of historical development and the summary of historical experiences. Historical theory research--this includes how we use historical materialism and dialectical materialism to guide historical research. It also includes specialized theories of historiography, that is the concrete combination of the universal principles of Marxism with the practice of historiography. This is the key level in the promotion of overall historical research. None of these levels of research can be dispensed with. Between them there is an innate organizational relationship and together they form the overall understanding of history by historians. Because individual historians are subject to the restrictions of various factors, in the research field they often stress a particular level. This is normal. But what is referred to here is meant in terms of historians as a single entity in understanding history. If the importance of a particular level is one-sidedly stressed and research in other levels is overlooked or played down, and the necessary relationships between the various levels are overlooked, this will inevitably produce one-sidedness in historical research. Overcoming the incorrect ideas of using textual criticism to replace historical research, separating academic values and social values and separating "history" and "theory," as well as strengthening the two weak links in research which probe patterns and research in historical theory, are things which we should pay special attention to in strengthening comprehensive research.

Regardless of whether we speak of multifaceted research or multilevel research, both involve the studious use of the knowledge and research methods of many disciplines. Now quantitative analysis methods and comparative research methods have attracted the attention of historiographical circles. They have begun to be used in research and have provided people with enlightenment. Some of the basic ideas of systems science methodology, such as comprehensiveness, integrality, unity, quantification and paying attention to information and feedback can, through philosophical transformation and distillation, and then absorption, assist historical research work in raising questions and researching questions from new angles. Comparative research is an important method of Marxism. It does not refer to drawing simple and arbitrary analogies or contrast between similar historical events, persons or processes. Rather, through comparing similarities and differences between historical phenomena the reasons for the similarities and differences are found, their essential relationships and characteristics are sought and a scientific explanation is provided. This allows people to see the dialectical relationships between the infinite differences and similarities of social history phenomena and universal historical patterns. Within the scope of human history there exists a vast range of things which can be compared. Not only can comparisons be made between the history of

various areas or various nationalities in China's history, but on a world scale, comparisons can be made between China's history and foreign history, and between the histories of the various countries of the world. Through comparative research new discoveries can be made on major problems, and thereby new appraisals and judgments can be made. It also needs to be pointed out that the trend of development in modern science is the increasingly close combination of social sciences and natural sciences. Historical science is no exception. What is referred to as the combination of historical research and natural sciences generally means that historical research should pay attention to the promotional role natural science developments have on social progress and draw in natural science results to enrich and improve historical research methods. This includes the adoption of scientific and technological measures and their adoption in various fields of historical research in order to seek more accurate research results.

### III

In the process of strengthening comprehensive research in history, historiographical workers need to resolve well three basic questions.

1. Adherence to the guidance of historical materialism. Comprehensive research in history is not only a question of methodology, but also a question of historical viewpoint. The materialist viewpoint of history is the only scientific viewpoint of history. It thoroughly frees people's understanding of social history from the rule of the idealist viewpoint of history and provides social history research with a scientific theory and methods. Thus, if we are to truly uncover the essential relationships of all aspects of objective history we must take historical materialism as guidance. Looking back on the course of development of our nation's historiography we easily discover that while the direct reason feudal historiography could not completely reflect the comprehensive characteristic of history was the narrowness of the practicality and methods of history study. In the end, this can be traced back to their being hampered by an idealist viewpoint of history and a metaphysical methodology. If the Marxist view of history scientifically resolves the above basic problems, for a long period why have we not been able to achieve obvious progress in terms of comprehensive research in history. This is not because the materialist viewpoint of history is ineffective, but rather because our past understanding of the materialist viewpoint of history was one-sided. Added to this was the influence of traditional historiographical methods which meant that we could not completely master and scientifically utilize historical materialism. As seen from the four levels of historical research, regardless of whether we are speaking of exploration into the patterns of history or the collection, arranging and verifying of materials, in neither case can it be divorced from the guidance of historical materialism. Therefore, the key issue in comprehensive historical research is adhering to the overall guidance of historical materialism and thoroughly implementing historical dialectics.

2. Improving theoretical thought capabilities. Now many historical works are loaded with historical materials, but lack the probing of relationships, the summarization of experiences, and the uncovering of patterns. They have not



yet hurdled the conventions of "descriptive history" and entered the new structure of "research history." This shows that the tendency to look lightly on theoretical thought exists. "If there is no theoretical thought, even two national facts will not be linked." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 399) Now, in a certain sense, the development of historical science and the level of historical works hinge on the depth of theoretical thought. If theoretical thought is looked on lightly or overlooked, it will not be possible for an incisive understanding of history to be produced and it will not be possible to master the rich and diverse historical materials. Only through strict and serious research and providing theoretical explanations which accord with logic and patterns for historical phenomena will it be possible to change historical research from research which stresses single-aspect research, to research which stresses multifaceted research; from research which stresses the substance of things to research which stresses the relationships between, and the structures of various types of things; from research which stresses relatively static research, to research which stresses active research. This is to say, only then will it be possible for individual aspects of micro-research to enter the large system of macro-research and thereby provide theoretical summations which more closely accord with reality.

3. The continual improvement of one's own knowledge structure. If historiographical workers are restricted by the scope of traditional knowledge and are satisfied with the knowledge passed on by the older generation of scholars, clearly it will be very difficult to improve their capacity for development in historiography. It is necessary to combine the inheritance and development of traditions with the opening of new fields and innovation. The new generation of historiographical workers must stress the study and drawing in of theories, knowledge and methods of other disciplines, broaden their vision, and expand their range of knowledge. Not only must they master the basic principles of Marxism and basic skills for engaging in historical research, but they must more widely and more quickly master the various types of necessary knowledge and methods, including the proficient use of foreign information materials. The road to researching history which simply repeats the accumulated knowledge of the older generation is far from sufficient. The continual improvement of the knowledge structure of historiographical workers should become an indispensable condition for assuring the quality of historiographical workers. The establishment of a contingent of historiographical workers which has a relatively rational and complete structure is a condition for opening a new situation in historical research. In this we should make unstinting efforts.

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EXPOSITIONS ON SEVERAL IMPORTANT VIEWS IN THE REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION  
OF 'BUILDING SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS'

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 39-45

[Article by the HONGQI Theoretical Education Editorial Office; first three paragraphs are HONGQI introduction; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Foreword

The enlarged edition of "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics" collects 44 important speeches and talks by Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the period between the 12th CPC National Congress in September 1982, and January 1987, with very rich contents. The basic guiding idea running through the whole book is to link the universal truth of Marxism with China's specific realities, to take China's own road, and to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is the fundamental conclusion by Comrade Deng Xiaoping through summing up China's long-term historical experiences in building socialism. The series of important concepts in the book reflect the basic concepts and proposals which Comrade Deng Xiaoping has always adhered to and advocated. They expound in an all-round and profound way the line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, serve as an example of linking the universal truth of Marxism with China's realities, and are a major development of Marxism in China. The serious study of this book is not only of important guiding significance to our correct treatment of history; understanding of the present-day realities; firm faith in socialism and the CPC leadership; overcoming the obstructions on our way to progress; and pushing forward the smooth development of socialist modernization, but also of important and far-reaching historical significance to our correctly analyzing and grasping the international situation; adopting correct principles, policies and measures; promoting the unification of China; and safeguarding world peace. Therefore, all party members, cadres, and leading cadres at various levels in particular, should regard it as a book requiring compulsory reading, and study it seriously according to the directions by the CPC Central Committee.

In studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's book we should pay attention to stressing the mastery of the Central Committee's basic concept on building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and have a profound grasp of the dialectic

relations between adhering to the four cardinal principles and the principle of reform, opening up and invigorating the domestic economy. In the course of studying, it is necessary: to link study of the book with study of the resolution from the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on the guiding principle for the building of socialist spiritual civilization; to link with the realities in the ideological field and in particular all expressions of bourgeois liberalization emerging recently; to understand the important significance of adhering to the four cardinal principles; to correctly sum up experiences and lessons; and to enhance the building of socialist spiritual civilization in a down-to-earth way. At the same time, it is necessary to link the study with study of the theory of the resolution adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on economic structural reform, and the theory of developing a socialist planned commodity economy, so that in linking theory with practice, we may have a clear idea that reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy is the general principle and general policy for us to: carry out socialist modernization; to better apply the Marxist stand, viewpoints, and approaches, to the active research and exploration of, and the solutions to, the problems in reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy; to further deepen the economic structural reform; and to do a still better job in all socialist modernization undertakings.

In coordination with the current study, we have organized the editing of "Expositions on Several Important Views in the Revised and Enlarged Edition of 'Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics'" as supplementary material; its contents include the following aspects: 1) Building socialism with Chinese characteristics; 2) on adhering to the four cardinal principles in the opposition to bourgeois liberalization; 3) on reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy; 4) on augmenting the leadership in the ideological field; 5) on the building of socialist spiritual civilization; 6) on the building of democracy and the legal system; 7) on party building; 8) on the unification of China, and safeguarding world peace. We have selected some important points in each area and made concise expositions and explanations of them. As we have already made some briefing notes and explanations regarding the contents of some areas in the "Expositions on Several Important Views in the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'" edited by the theoretical education editorial office of this journal, and carried in our 1983 issues No 13 to No 23, and "Study Outline of Expositions From Central Documents on Adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles and Opposing Bourgeois Liberalization" edited by the same office, carried in the 1987 issues No 5 to No 8, we have left out some items to avoid repetition when editing the present guiding material. Because of the limitation in our standards, there might be things inappropriate in our selection of topics and expositions in these materials, which are for your reference only.

## I. Concerning the Building of Socialism With Chinese Characteristics

[By Yang Fengchun [2799 6646 2504]]

1. "TO LINK MARXIST UNIVERSAL TRUTH WITH CHINA'S SPECIFIC REALITIES, TO TAKE CHINA'S OWN ROAD, AND TO BUILD SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS, THIS IS PRECISELY OUR BASIC CONCLUSION SUMMING UP OUR LONG-TERM HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES." (Deng Xiaoping: "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics," revised and enlarged edition, p 3)

This basic conclusion is the kernel in the series of Deng Xiaoping's incisive expositions in this book, and has provided a general principle for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Comrade Mao Zedong linked Marxism-Leninism with China's actual conditions during the period of the democratic revolution, and opened up the road of rural areas encircling the cities, and seizing power with armed struggles, which led to the victory of the Chinese revolution. In the 30-odd-year historical process of socialist construction in China, there were periods of smooth progress as well as mistakes and setbacks. Both positive and negative experiences have enabled us to come to see that just as we did in our democratic revolution, we must also take our own road by linking Marxism-Leninism with China's actual conditions in our socialist construction.

Marx and Engels proposed the basic tenets for socialist construction; however, they did not, and could not provide us with specific answers as to how to conduct socialist construction in each specific nation. Particularly those countries which were economically backward were the first to win the victories of socialist revolution, which Marx and Engels did not foresee. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for the communists in those nations to carry out independent exploration and to take their own roads in accordance with the Marxist stand, viewpoints and approaches, by linking them with the actual conditions of their own nations.

Lenin pointed out: "To the Russian socialists, it is all the more necessary for them to explore Marxist theories independently, because these theories have only provided us with some general guiding principles; specifically, the application of these theories can be quite different in France regarding Britain, in Germany regarding France, and in Russia regarding Germany." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 203). However, people would often neglect and forget this basic principle in specific environments. After the victory of the Chinese revolution, China copied some foreign "patterns" in socialist construction intact, and pursued "large in size and public in ownership" one-sidedly regarding the ownership of production materials with the economic decisionmaking power highly concentrated in the hands of the state, while enterprises lacked decisionmaking power in their management and operation; the functions of commodity production and the law of value were restricted, while the economic operations were regulated chiefly by relying on administrative means and mandatory plans. Divorced from China's historical as well as present-day conditions, we suffered from losses in the end, while the full play of the advantages of socialism was affected.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee summed up the experiences of China's socialist construction, restored the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, and linked Marxism-Leninism with China's actual conditions; this has enabled us to have a comparatively sober understanding of China's national conditions. China is still in the initial stage of socialism, with regard to its standards of economic development, national characteristics, and cultural tradition, it has many characteristics different from other nations. For example, China has a large population, a vast territory, and abundant natural resources; however, its per capita natural resources are meager, its economy is backward, and its culture, science and technology are underdeveloped. Its eastern, middle, and western regions are greatly imbalanced in their economic development. In some old revolutionary base areas, minority nationality regions, and border regions, the problems of having enough food and clothing remain to be solved. The rural population is large; labor productivity is low, and it takes four rural people to provide for the subsistence of one person in the urban areas. As a result of the protracted feudal society and the century-long semicolonial and semifeudal society, bourgeois and pernicious feudal ideas still have a considerable market; those ideas are often merged, and affect people's minds and actions, visibly or invisibly. For historical reasons, we are still facing the issue of unifying China, including the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao issues. All these are the national condition that we must take into consideration in our construction.

Under the guidance of the line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we are building socialism with Chinese characteristics proceeding from China's realities in adherence to the four cardinal principles, and the general principle of reform and opening up, by continuously studying the new situation and new issues and looking for new solutions. Through practice over the past 8 years and more, we have already found some measures which are suitable to China's realities, and are helpful to developing a socialist economy. For example, we first conducted economic structural reform and reform in other aspects beginning with the rural areas, and implemented the output-related system of contracted responsibility on a household basis in the rural areas. In the cities, we have carried out reform with augmenting the vitality of enterprises as the key link, while many large and medium-type state-run enterprises are implementing the factory director (manager) responsibility system in production on a trial basis. Under the premise of making socialist public ownership play the dominant role, we allow the existence and a certain development of the private economy, as well as Sino-foreign joint ventures and wholly foreign-owned enterprises, making them an important supplement to the socialist economy. We adhere to the socialist principle of distribution according to work, and uphold some areas and some people getting rich first; our objective is to make those areas that have become rich first help the backward areas to make faster progress, and those people that have become rich first help the poverty-stricken share common prosperity. We have also broken through the traditional concept of turning planned economy against commodity economy, actively promoted planned commodity economy on the basis of developing public ownership, set store on giving play to the roles of economic levers and market regulation, and have been doing a good job in the macrocontrol of



major aspects, as well as the relaxation and invigoration of minor aspects, to guarantee the general harmonious proportional development of the national economy. Such measures have already demonstrated their vitality in developing the economy.

At the same time, the CPC has proposed the "one country, two systems" concept based on the people's aspirations for the unification of China, to strive for a peaceful international climate and social environment of stability and unity. Under the guidance of this concept, we have not only successfully solved the Hong Kong and Macao issues, but provided an example for solving the Taiwan issue and international disputes. To improve work efficiency, to overcome bureaucracy, and to augment the vitality of the party and the state to meet the needs of the economic structural reform, we have proposed the task of political structural reform based on the actual conditions. We are now making a thorough study of the division of labor between the party and the government and the issue of decentralization, and such matters as organizational reform, reform in the personnel and cadre system, starting with functional changes, the extension of socialist democracy, and making the socialist legal system complete and perfect. To give better play to the people's socialist initiatives, we have attached importance to the people's material interests, stressed the augmentation and improvement of ideological and political work, and proposed the principle of grasping socialist material and spiritual civilizations simultaneously. Our reform and construction need the support and help of other countries and their peoples; however, such country-to-country ties can only be conducted on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual respect for sovereignty. We cannot expect an economically backward country with a large population to solve all the problems facing it on the strength of foreign aid. Therefore, in the course of reform and opening up, we have always adhered to the principle of independence, self-reliance, and taking the initiative in our own hands.

The people hope that China will get rid of poverty as soon as possible and become prosperous, because China is economically backward. Such sentiments and aspirations are understandable. However, historical experiences have told us that haste makes waste. In whatever undertakings, whether it is to develop productive forces or to reform the production relations and superstructure, which are unsuitable for the development of productive forces, we must proceed from China's actual conditions in an orderly way, step by step, and make gradual progress. In the 2 decades between 1958 and 1978, we pursued the "Great Leap Forward" and "doing things in a big way" on several occasions, and the grave lessons from these were divorcing from the actual conditions with excessively high targets, and extreme eagerness for quick success and instant benefit. That would not accomplish the aim to develop productive forces, but result in gravely dampening the people's enthusiasm. Today, the goal formulated by the CPC is truth-seeking; the first step is to achieve the standards of comparatively well-to-do by the year 2000, and the second step is to achieve the standards of intermediate developed countries by the year 2050. These two goals drawn up on the basis of scientific forecast have become the clarion call for the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout China.

We copied some foreign patterns intact, and implemented some "leftist" measures in the past; and the effects were bad. In recent years, some people have taken advantage of our reform and opening up, and upheld the so-called "total Westernization," demanding the introduction of the bourgeois political system, bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois lifestyle as well; in essence, this is to take the capitalist road. In socialist modernization, it is necessary for us to introduce advanced technologies and other helpful things from all nations in the contemporary world, including developed capitalist countries, with some selection in a planned way; however, by no means should we introduce the capitalist system and all things ugly. Those upholding the theory of "total Westernization" demand us to copy all things bourgeois intact. This is in violation of China's national conditions and the will of the Chinese people. Therefore, to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, it is imperative to continue to get rid of "leftist effects," while dispelling the rightist interference, and resolutely implement the line and series of principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

[By Ji Si [7162 1835]]

2. "IN REFORM, WE MUST ALWAYS ADHERE TO TWO BASIC SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES: PUBLIC OWNERSHIP PLAYING THE DOMINANT ROLE, AND COMMON PROSPERITY." (Deng Xiaoping: "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics," revised and enlarged edition, p 99)

In the course of implementing the principle of reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed the basic principles of public ownership playing the dominant role, and common prosperity. He proposed these two basic principles proceeding from the reality that China is in the initial stage of socialism. This is the application, and development, of the basic principle of scientific socialism, an important component part of the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and of great significance in theory and in practice.

Socialist economy is economy based on public ownership. Lenin pointed out, socialism means the public ownership of production materials plus distribution according to work. ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 24, p 63) Adherence to public ownership playing the dominant role is basically holding on to the socialist economic system. The general root cause of all malpractices in capitalist society lies in the contradiction between the capitalist private ownership of production materials and socialized production, and capitalist exploitation of hired labor. To replace private ownership of production materials with public ownership is precisely to make the possession of production materials fall in line with the socialized nature of production, to eliminate the phenomenon of the minority exploiting the majority, and to make social production serve the needs and interests of all members of society. At the same time, it is to eventually eliminate all kinds of irrational and ugly phenomena expressed in human relations, and social and spiritual life. Therefore, adherence to public ownership is the basic principle of socialism.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's proposal of adherence to public ownership playing the dominant role is an adherence to, and development of the basic principle of scientific socialism. China set up two forms of public ownership (ownership by the whole people and collective ownership) by confiscating bureaucratic capital after the victory of the democratic revolution and the socialist transformation of the private ownership of production materials in the 1950's. History proves that the practice was correct. However, because we copied the Soviet pattern through lack of experience, and the more so because of the long-term "leftist" effects later on, many concepts and practices took shape, divorced from the realities of the initial stage of socialism in China. For example, the belief that only public ownership economy would exist in the socialist society, while all other forms of ownership must be rejected; the belief that enterprises under ownership by the whole people can only be state-run, and that they must come under the management of departments or localities, while collective ownership can only be unified operation, collective labor, with unified distribution, and run under the organization of localities, and all other operational forms must be rejected. Moreover, "being larger in size and having a higher degree of public ownership" was regarded as the criterion for judging whether the form of ownership was advanced or not, while believing that under whatever conditions, ownership by the whole people had more strong points than collective ownership, and collective ownership had greater merits than private economy, and that the greater the proportion in the entire economy of public ownership, the ownership of the whole people in particular, the better. For a considerably long period of time, such concepts in breach of China's realities had greatly restricted us; as a result, China failed to develop its productive forces swiftly. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that developing social productive forces is the most basic task on the socialist stage, and the changes to, completion, and perfection of production relations must fall in line with the conditions of productive forces. In addition, we should view whether it is favorable to the development of productive forces as the major criterion for testing the success or failure of reform. In line with such guiding idea, we proposed the principle of adhering to public ownership playing the dominant role, while actively developing diverse forms of ownership and operation.

China has at present, aside from the public ownership economy, the private economy of the laborers, private economy, Sino-foreign joint ventures, Sino-foreign contractual joint ventures, and wholly foreign-owned enterprises, as necessary and helpful supplements to the socialist economy. Their existence and development will not injure or change the nature of the socialist system, neither will it change the basic point of public ownership playing the dominant role. According to statistics, in the gross industrial output value in 1985, industry under ownership by the whole people accounted for 70.4 percent, industry under collective ownership 27.7 percent, private industry 0.4 percent, and industry of other categories 1.5 percent. In the total volume of retail sales, ownership by the whole people accounted for 40.4 percent, collective ownership 37.2 percent, private economy 15.3 percent, and economy of other categories 7.1 percent. This shows that whether in industry or commerce, it is the public ownership economy that plays the

dominant role. Under the precondition of public ownership playing the dominant role, public ownership may develop better with the supplement, and the entire social productive forces may develop still faster. Particularly, the existence of diverse forms of ownership in such areas as retail sales, the service trades, and small processing industries has played a very good part. The economy becomes all the more active, the market is all the more brisk, and it is more convenient to the people's living standards. In addition, it has solved some of the employment issues among the urban population. But of course, their roles as supplements should always remain unchanged, by no means should they become a dominant force and take the place of the public ownership economy. When we develop diverse economic forms or conduct reform in the ownership under the whole people economy, and collective ownership economy, it is all for the sake of making complete and perfect, and developing the socialist economic system. According to the stipulations in China's Constitution, socialist public ownership is the basis of China's socialist economic system, while the ownership by the whole people economy is the dominant force in the national economy. The 30-odd-year history since the founding of the PRC proves that the ownership by the whole people economy is suitable to socialized mass production; and the major part of China's financial revenue is derived from enterprises under ownership by the whole people. It is the basic guarantee for: conducting the key projects in our national construction; the steady development of the national economy; the stability of the livelihood of the entire people; and adherence to the socialist nature of China's economy. Only by adhering to public ownership playing the dominant role will it be possible to guarantee the economic factors of non-public ownership adhering to the correct orientation of serving socialism. Therefore, it is entirely wrong to stick only to the public ownership economy, while rejecting all economies other than public ownership as we did in the past. It is also entirely wrong to go to the other extreme from here, namely, doubting the strong points of the public ownership economy, departing from the principle of public ownership playing the dominant role, and even upholding the replacement of public ownership with private ownership.

Adherence to public ownership playing the dominant role is linked closely with common prosperity. Marx said: "Any kind of distribution of the materials for subsistence can only be the result of the distribution of the production conditions themselves." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 13) Polarization under the capitalist system is due to the fact that production materials are in the hands of the bourgeoisie, while the people have but their personal production condition, namely their labor force. Therefore, they are inevitably reduced to the status of the exploited and the enslaved. We have established and persisted in the socialist system, and our aim is precisely to eliminate the exploitation of men by men as well as polarization, and to achieve common prosperity. This is an important sign of the basic difference between socialism and capitalism, as well as an unshakable basic principle.

To persist in common prosperity is to adhere to the socialist distribution principle. China is now in the initial stage of socialism, which falls in line with the diverse forms of ownership and diverse operational methods. Hence, the inevitable existence of diverse ways of distribution. A portion



of the national income goes to the state treasury, while the greater portion goes directly to the people, to improve their material and cultural lives. The portion that goes to the state treasury is also used for the benefit of the people, namely, being spent in developing the economy, culture, science and education, and national defense as well. The portion that directly goes to the people is distributed in accordance with the principle of distribution according to work. Because China is economically backward and has a large population, the standard of the per capita national income is very low. However, as we have eliminated the exploiting classes, and implemented the socialist distribution principle, we have successfully avoided polarization, even though we have not entirely got rid of poverty on the whole, and we have guaranteed the gradual betterment of the people's living standards with the development of the socioeconomy.

Allowing and encouraging some areas and people to become rich first does not run counter to adherence to the principle of common prosperity, for the two are unified. To realize common prosperity, it is necessary to adhere to the socialist distribution principle. However, that alone is not enough, because if productive forces fail to develop, with a meager volume for distribution, it can only be egalitarian poverty, and not common prosperity, even if the distribution principle is rational. To realize common prosperity, it is necessary in the final analysis, to rely on the development of productive forces, and the increase by a wide margin of the volume of products that can be distributed. To achieve this, it is necessary to give maximum play to the initiatives of all localities, all operational units of production as well as the masses. At the same time, it is necessary to oppose egalitarianism, to acknowledge differences, and to allow and to encourage some areas and people to become rich first. This is a major policy proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Practice over the past 8 years has proved that implementation of this policy decision is greatly beneficial to the development of productive forces and the realization of common prosperity. First, generally speaking, the fact that some areas and people have become rich first demonstrates the development of commodity production and commodity circulation, and the increase in social wealth and in the people's income. Regarding the whole society, this is also the development of productive forces and an increase in the volume of products. Second, commodity economy has very great penetrating power, and its development will break through the boundaries between regions and units. The experiences of those areas and people that have become rich first through developing commodity economy will play an exemplary role to the whole society. At the same time, they will bring along other areas and people to develop commodity economy through the circulation of technologies, capital and commodities. Third, when some areas and people have become rich first, the state may increase its tax revenues, and concentrate its efforts in helping backward regions to develop their economy and culture. Beyond question, this is favorable to the development of the whole society.

Will some areas and people becoming rich first lead to polarization and violate the principle of common prosperity? The answer is no, because we adhere to public ownership playing the dominant role and the socialist distribution principle. Therefore, the existing differences are essentially

those of the degrees of prosperity. It is the difference in the order of getting rid of poverty, namely the difference between becoming rich first and becoming rich later. By no means is this polarization. At the same time, our state power is of a socialist nature, our laws and policies should acknowledge differences and protect the existence of differences, while preventing these differences from expanding to polarization. We uphold the areas that have become rich first to help the backward areas better develop themselves. At the same time, necessary regulation will be conducted through such measures as levying income tax to those people who have become rich first. Therefore, some people becoming rich first does not run counter to the principle of common prosperity. It is precisely the indispensable ways and means of achieving common prosperity.

In sum, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's proposal that the two basic principles, public ownership playing the dominant role and common prosperity, be adhered to shows that our reform, opening up and invigorating the domestic economy are developed under the precondition of adhering to the socialist orientation, and our objective is to adhere to, and to develop socialism. So long as we always adhere to these two basic principles in the course of reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy, polarization and capitalism will be prevented. In this way, we have drawn a demarcation line from the erroneous rightist trend, namely, the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization in upholding the capitalist road, while drawing a demarcation line from the erroneous "leftist" trends.

[By Si Wen [2448 2429]]

3. "THE TASKS FOR SOCIALISM ARE MANIFOLD, BUT THE BASIC POINT IS TO DEVELOP PRODUCTIVE FORCES, TO LAY DOWN THE MATERIAL GROUNDWORK FOR COMMUNISM." (Deng Xiaoping: "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics," revised and enlarged edition, p 116)

In briefing visiting foreign guests on China's experiences and lessons in socialist construction, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has on many occasions talked about China's serious setbacks as well as its marked accomplishments in socialist construction over the past 3 decades and more. A major lesson was that, over a long period of time, people were not quite clear about what socialism and Marxism was in their understanding, and they were not so sure that the tasks for socialism are manifold, and that the basic point is to develop social productive forces. In this way, he elevated China's experiences in socialist construction to the plane of the law governing the development of the socialist society, and a theoretical basis for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. People can easily understand the point that the tasks for socialism are manifold, because many contradictions exist in the socialist society, and contradictions of different natures involve different solutions. This gives rise to a variety of work in many aspects in the economic, political, and ideological fields, such as: developing productive forces; upgrading the people's living standards; carrying out economic and political structural reforms, educational structural reform, and structural reform in science and technology; opposing bourgeois liberalization; doing a good job in building socialist spiritual

civilization; realizing the unification of China; and safeguarding world peace.

Although contradictions in the socialist society are manifold, the places and roles of all these contradictions vary. Among these, one plays a decisive role, and this is what we usually refer to as the major contradiction. History has proved that in the socialist society, its initial stage in particular, the major contradiction is that between the ever-growing needs of the people and the backward social production. The key tasks are to develop social productive forces and to realize the socialist modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense, science and technology. Only by grasping this key link firmly, will it be possible to fulfill all other tasks smoothly.

First, socialism should do away with poverty. Because of its peculiar historical conditions, China completed its transition to the socialist society through the new democratic society from a semicolonial and semi-feudal society. A socialist society founded under such a condition cannot be the highly developed socialism in the initial concept of the founder of Marxism; it can only be the initial stage of socialism. A marked characteristic of China is its large population, vast territory, and very weak foundation. Its productive forces are rather undeveloped, and economic development between different regions is unbalanced. In some regions the rural areas are still in a state of natural or seminatural economy, and the problem of enough food and clothing remain unsolved. Therefore, the first and foremost task in the initial stage of our socialism is to do away with poverty. A major mistake in our work since the founding of the PRC was the failure to shift the work focus to economic construction, while continuing to stress class struggle as the key link. Therefore, the development of productive forces was rather slow. The "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular brought about heavy losses to China's national economy, and seriously injured the image of socialism in people's minds. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC has determined to thoroughly bring order out of chaos, and to concentrate strength on developing social productive forces on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles. Specifically, we will take two steps to achieve this. In the first step, we are to quadruple the gross industrial and agricultural output value by the year 2000, with the gross national product amounting to \$1000 billion, and the people's living standards arriving at a comparatively well-to-do plane. Then in another 5 decades, we will make China's production and the living standards of its people match those of the intermediate developed countries. In this way, the strong points of the socialist system will be comparatively embodied to the full, while the Chinese nation will make greater contributions to mankind.

Second, socialism will not only make the working people share common prosperity, but also enable them to enjoy a high level of cultural life universally. Culturally, China is still very backward. Illiteracy and semi-literacy account for almost one-fifth of the population and intermediate education is still not universal. Such a condition is very unfavorable to the four modernizations. However, our national strength is still limited

at present. It is rather difficult to increase our spending on education and scientific research. If we realize the target of quadrupling, with the gross national product amounting to \$1000 billion, things will be much better. Then, we can afford to spend more money on running science and education, many institutes of higher education and scientific research and experimental organs, and we can exert greater efforts to make the knowledge in science and culture universal. The lack of qualified people in construction will be somewhat relaxed. Material is the base; when the people's material life is improved, and their cultural standards upgraded, there will certainly be a great change in their spiritual features, while criminal activities will be sure to reduce greatly, and our construction will certainly have a more stable social environment.

Third, to consolidate and develop the socialist system, it is also necessary to place socialist modernization above all else. In the almost 2 decades prior to the fall of the "gang of four" we had been going round and round forever within the circle of promoting public ownership and pursuing political campaigns, and we suffered great losses in the end. Because of sabotage during the 10 years of turmoil, the already narrowed gap in the standards of science and technology between us and the developed countries widened up again, the educational standard of the entire nation dropped, and the social atmosphere worsened. Positive and negative experiences before and after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have proved that only by adhering to the four cardinal principles, implementing the principle of reform, opening up, and invigorating the domestic economy, making the national economy rise, will it be possible to consolidate and develop the socialist system. To consolidate and develop the socialist system, it is imperative to develop the struggle to oppose bourgeois liberalization thoroughly, healthily, and persistently, while a thorough solution to the issue of bourgeois liberalization depends on the development of productive forces in the final analysis. A small number of people upholding bourgeois liberalization spread the view that socialism is inferior to capitalism and advocated "total Westernization." One of their pretexts is that China is economically backward, and underdeveloped in science and technology. Only by fulfilling the quadrupling target and causing our production and living standards to approach those of economically developed countries, will it be possible to convince people of the strong points of the socialist system, and to further reduce the influential realm of bourgeois liberalization. The reform, completion and perfection of the other aspects in the superstructure and of production relations are also inseparable from the development of productive forces. Only when productive forces rise will the gradual consolidation, completion and perfection of the socialist system be possible. Of course, it does not mean that all contradictions between productive forces and production relations and between the superstructure and the economic base will be solved naturally so long as productive forces rise. We must grasp the building of material civilization on the one hand and spiritual civilization on the other. If we fail to enhance the building of spiritual civilization, the building of material civilization will also be sabotaged or take a zigzag. However, "in accordance with the materialist historical concept, the decisive factor in the historical process is, in the final analysis, the production and reproduction in the realities of life." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels,"



Vol 4, p 477) Therefore, to consolidate and to develop the socialist system, the most fundamental point is to develop social productive forces.

Fourth, to undertake construction needs domestic stability as well as a peaceful international climate. The Chinese people love peace, oppose war, uphold detente, and oppose the arms race. Viewing the situation now, the safeguarding of world peace is possible. However, the danger of war still exists and we cannot but be vigilant. Hence, the need to realize the modernization of national defense. Because of the limitation in our national strength, we cannot afford to spend more on the modernization of national defense, but when we realize the quadrupling, things will be quite different. With the improvement in people's standards of material and cultural life, with strengthening of our national strength and the modernization of national defense, China's influence in the world will be greatly different, and we will be more powerful in realizing the unification of China and safeguarding world peace. Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, we are facing many tasks, but the core is economic construction, which is the basis for the solutions to international and domestic issues.

Fifth, socialism is the initial stage of communism, and our final goal is to realize communism. In the final analysis, the underdevelopment of productive forces accounts for the reason that the socialist stage still bears signs of the old society from which it was born, in the economic, ethical and economic areas, and the existence of the division of labor and the three great differences, with labor still being the means to make a living but not the first necessity of life for all members of the society. Communism is a society characterized by its abundance in material wealth, and the implementation of the principle from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. Only when all sources of social wealth fully emerge, along with the all-round development of the individual, and the high development of productive forces will it be possible: to eventually eliminate the three major differences; to realize to each according to his needs; and to complete the transition from socialism to communism. Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Marxism attaches the greatest importance to developing social productive forces. Speaking of communism, what is its implication? It is precisely the principle from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. This requires the high development of social productive forces, and the extreme abundance of social material wealth. Therefore, the most basic task for the socialist stage is to develop productive forces." (Deng Xiaoping: "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics," revised and enlarged edition, pp 52-53)

This idea of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's is a summing up of the CPC practical experiences, as well as an example of the Marxist universal truth linking with China's actual conditions. Marxism and practical experiences tell us, we must unify productive forces with production relations and the economic base with the superstructure in our study. In the two pairs of contradictions, productive forces against production relations, and the economic base against the superstructure, productive forces and the economic base generally play the chief decisive roles. Therefore, we regard the four modernizations as the key link in our political line, and persist in developing

productive forces, holding on to this key link without relaxation. Any departure from the development of productive forces, and the study of production relations, and even the superstructure in isolation, will lead to violation of the basic Marxist tenets and the objective law governing social development, and setbacks in practical work. At the same time, we should also see that production relations and the superstructure have a reaction to productive forces and the economic base. Therefore, we should not study productive forces in isolation departing from production relations and the superstructure. As mentioned above, the other tasks that must be resolved in the socialist stage must be based on the continuous development of productive forces. They are at the same time the conditions for the continuous development of productive forces. Under the present-day conditions in China in particular, to develop productive forces, it is imperative to implement the principle of opening up to the world and invigorating the domestic economy, to carry out all-round economic, political, educational structural reforms and structural reform in science and technology. At the same time, it is necessary to do a good job in building socialist spiritual civilization. This is the inevitable road to develop productive forces. The "Resolution by the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principle for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization" pointed out: "The general layout for the building of socialist spiritual civilization in China is: With economic construction as the key link, we should resolutely carry out economic structural reform, political structural reform, and resolutely strengthen building spiritual civilization, and make these aspects coordinate with each other and promote each other." The above statement by the CPC Central Committee has scientifically generalized the basic task of developing productive forces and its relations with other tasks. This is of important guiding significance to pushing forward the socialist modernization in an all-round way.

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CSO: 4005/888

## MODESTY IS ALWAYS A VIRTUE

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 p 46

[Article by Xie Chunchang [6200 4783 2490]]

[Text] Some time ago some people borrowed the labels of "reform" and "renovated concepts" and in reality propagated certain so-called "new concepts" of a harmful nature. For example, pride was considered a good virtue while modesty was called a bad habit. To support their assertions and establish their legitimacy, the propagators specially cited Comrade Deng Xiaoping's words as the "basis." I was extremely puzzled, and carefully checked the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

Indeed, Comrade Deng Xiaoping did say: "I am somewhat skeptical of the two characters meaning 'pride and arrogance.' Anyone who is energetic and capable always has faith in himself and is a man with subjective views. The more subjective views a man has the greater is his self-confidence. This is not at all bad." The propagandists of pride and arrogance cited Deng's words only up to here. By reading only this passage people quite possibly could come to understand that Comrade Deng Xiaoping seemed to have approved pride and arrogance.

Nevertheless, let us go slowly! Following the above-quoted words, Comrade Deng Xiaoping continued by saying: "If a man is truly a little proud and arrogant, when he is placed in an appropriate post he will of himself become modest, otherwise he will be unable to continue."

Let us turn to another passage of Comrade Deng Xiaoping: "We must go into speciality and into reality, investigate and study, know the enemy and know yourself and must refrain from vain talks. No vain talks can make a success out of the four modernizations. Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out the sicknesses of being arrogant and complacent, of standing still and refusing to make progress, and of being conceited. Our ideological and theoretical workers likewise should strive hard to avoid such drawbacks."

Quite obviously, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideas were that we should not treat the self-confidence of a person who is capable and has definite views of his own as arrogance. Real arrogance (standing still and refusing to make progress and being conceited) is definitely no good. As for modesty, he is

all for it. He has made many statements in this connection, but we shall not cite them here.

A person who can do great deeds is usually self-confident and also modest. When his country was in trouble in the period of the warring states, Jian Xiangrui dared to personally confront the king of the Qin Kingdom, scolded him and succeeded in recovering the precious stone for the Zhao Kingdom. This fully illustrated his self-confidence. On the other hand, confronting the arrogant top general, Lian Po, he put the state before anything else and was very forbearing and conciliatory. This greatly moved Lian Po, who subsequently tendered his most humble apologies. If Jian Xiangrui had had Lian Po's same narrow understanding, the consequences could not have been peace and accord between the prime minister and the general. The state would not have been strong and prosperous; instead, it would have been like two ferocious tigers fighting each other to the detriment of both parties and also of the Zhao Kingdom. King Xiang Yu of the Cho state was well-known for his great physical strength and ability, but he had to suffer the ill consequence of committing suicide in Wu Jiang, all because of this major factor of arrogance. Marshal Chen Yi rightly said: "Boast not of your being better off than others; arrogance and self-conceit may overturn your car; scanning past and present records, it will be found that successes have been achieved through modesty and failures through extravagance." In the decisive battle of Huangqiao, Commander Chen was still complacently playing chess. What self-confidence! Yet when he met with nonparty member and elderly patriot Han Zishi, he called himself a "student of north Sichuan." How modest he was, indeed. "Modesty makes people progress; arrogance makes people backward." This is a truth attested to by numerous facts.

For the sake of making arrogance become a "good" "new concept," certain people have quoted sagacious Western sayings to frighten the "country bumpkins" of China. In reality, really great Westerners are opposed to arrogance and advocate modesty. The enlightened French theorist Montesquieu once said: "Modesty is an indispensable virtue." In his "Commemoration of Madame Curie," the outstanding scientist Einstein said: Madame Curie "at all times considered herself society's public servant. Her extreme modesty left no ground for self-complacency." How nicely were these words spoken!

Modesty and self-confidence are two different things, but they can go together without antagonizing each other. It is entirely not necessary to downgrade modesty for the sake of uplifting self-confidence. But if arrogance is mixed together with self-confidence and is exalted to the position of a "new concept," then it would be sheer nonsense.

Incidentally, this has led us to another problem, that is earnestly studying and correctly quoting. This is commonplace talk. Why it must be talked about frequently and commonly is because some people have been perfunctory in studying books and have quoted other people's viewpoints without the least bit of a scientific attitude. It seems that reading more books and earnestly reading books are exceptionally important. To writers of articles, let us make another reminder: Correctly quote the good things from books. Do not interpret without real understanding and above all never quote out of context.

/6091

CS0: 4005/888



## BEGINNING THE TALK WITH A CASE OF BOASTING AND EXAGGERATION

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 pp 47-48

[Article by Yao Zhian [1202 1807 1344]]

[Text] Three units in a certain county simultaneously made a statistical investigation of the annual per capita income of people in the villages of the county. Three different results were attained. This investigation by the three units could possibly have suffered from the influence of certain concrete conditions that caused the differences. But when the three kinds of results were laid before the leadership of the county party committee, the leadership comrade of the committee, without inquiring into the causes of the differences, forthwith reported to the above the set with the highest figures. Eventually, it was found that these figures had been exaggerated and did not correspond to the actual conditions. Why is that while recently our party has repeatedly stressed seeking truth from facts and opposed various forms of subjectivism, in certain localities things like boasting, exaggeration, and fabrication still frequently occur and that there have been cases of even more alarming proportions?

Undoubtedly, one cause of this can be traced to understanding, but if only this point is stressed we may become a little biased. In reality, subjectivism in actual work not only may be traced to understanding but also may suffer from the restrictions arising from ties of interest. Take for example the above case of the county party committee reporting the figures to the above. Since the object under investigation was the same but the results of the three investigating units were greatly different from each other, why not, based on the spirit of seeking truth from facts, demand that a renewed investigation be made? Without further investigating and checking, how was it possible to conclude that the results showing the highest figures could adequately reflect the objective conditions of the county people's per capita annual income? Obviously, this was a case of vanity, of only considering the interests of the individuals or the departments concerned, and of the lack of a high sense of responsibility to the party and the people.

Seeking truth from facts and wholeheartedly serving the people are closely inseparable. Regardless of the kind of work, in order to achieve good results it is necessary not only to firmly insist on seeking truth from facts but also to firmly remember to serve the people wholeheartedly. Only

through insisting on seeking truth from facts can we truly serve the people, and only through firmly remembering to serve the people can we seek truth from facts. Naturally, this does not mean that remembering to serve the people will automatically lead to seeking truth from facts, but serving the people is the basic precondition to firmly insisting on seeking truth from facts, because the objective of serving the people restricts the whole progress of development of understanding.

First, the objective of serving the people controls the width, depth, and results of investigation and research. The source of understanding is actual practice. Failure to make a correct investigation deprives one of the right to speak and also deters the effective execution of policies. But a correct investigation necessarily requires the adoption of a scientific attitude of materialism. So-called materialism is only a true reflection of the original appearances of external things. It is easy to talk about this problem but it is difficult to carry it out. One of the key factors is whether or not the objective of serving the people is remembered. If the interests of the party and of the people are not taken into consideration, and the losses or gains of the individual or the department concerned weigh most heavily, then the width and depth of the investigation and research will be constrained and there may even be boasting, exaggeration, and deception of both the upper and lower levels.

Second, the objective of serving the people controls the leap forward from sentimental understanding to rational understanding. To realize this leap forward, it is necessary to resort to the dialectical method of thinking and subject the rich sentimental materials to processing work such as "removing the crude but taking the refined," removing the false but retaining the true, and reaching from here to there and from the surface to the interior. In the course of instituting the above--which to remove, which to take, which to retain, and from where to where--all in varying degrees concern one's interests, and hence arises the problem of whether ties of interest between the individual and the people have been correctly handled. Generally speaking, sentimental materials are many and various, and real and false ones are intermingled. If everything starts from the people's interests to determine which to remove, or take, or retain, then it will be easier to form a correct concept and thought, to realize the leap forward from sentimental understanding to rational understanding, and to achieve unification of the subjective with the objective. If not, then what should have been "removed" is not removed, what should have been "taken" is not taken, and what should have been "retained" is not retained, and the result is a failure to obtain a correct conclusion.

Moreover, the objective of serving the people also controls the leap forward from understanding to actual practice. The course of returning from understanding to actual practice is also the course of examining and checking understanding and developing understanding. In this course of procedure, it is necessary to insist on truth and also to dare to rectify errors. This will require an unselfish spirit and bravery. Only when one can constantly remember the objective of serving the people will it be possible for him at all times to insist on truth and rectify errors. This

is because truth of any kind is harmonious with the people's interests, whereas any kind of error is harmful to the people's interests. On the contrary, if the individual's interests are placed above the people's interests, then not only is it impossible to insist on truth, but it is also impossible to rectify errors. The consequences are that what is obviously correct is said to be incorrect, and what is obviously wrong is said to be right.

We must constantly talk about seeking truth from facts, and the relationship of this with serving the people must also be continuously stressed. Only when our cadres take serving the people as the starting point and foothold for all work and insist on seeking truth from facts can they perform their work well.

/6091

CSO: 4005/888

GRASP 'ADVANCE' AND 'RETREAT' IN THE COURSE OF 'DESTRUCTION' AND 'CONSTRUCTION'

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 p 48

[Article by Wang Zhonghua [3769 1813 5478]; reprinted from SHIJIAN, No 8, 1987]

[Text] "Destruction" and "construction" reflect the changes and development of things. They reflect the law of negating negation. [as published] The procedural course of destruction and construction is that of casting away and creating anew: Destruction is the rebuilding and casting away of the old structure and old concepts; while construction is renovation and development on the existing foundation. The two parties of destruction and construction are not abruptly separated from each other but represent a transition process between the strong points of the new and the old. But the destruction of old things and the construction of new things involve a gradual procedure of one party rising and the other party declining. Just as is pointed out in dialectical materialism in the course of this procedure, any factors of affirmation include at the same time factors of refutation. Construction is found in destruction while destruction is found in construction. Hence this promotes the movement and development of things.

In the relationship between destruction and construction, the problem which people most talk about is whether destruction takes the lead or construction takes the lead. The Marxist scientific method of thinking has taught us that discussions on any problem must be placed within a definite scope. The differentiation between destruction taking the lead and construction taking the lead lies in two types of viewpoints on handling the relationship between destruction and construction under two different sets of environmental conditions. Generally speaking, under the environmental conditions of old and antiquated things being in command, it is necessary first to break the bondage of old things before the construction of new things is begun. This should be described as destruction taking the lead and construction being in the midst. On the other hand, under the environmental conditions of new things taking command, construction may take the lead. This is because under such conditions, although the objects of destruction in general do play an impeding role against the matters or projects under construction, yet in a stated time and space they and the objects of construction do not completely repel each other. For example, in the reform of our country's economic structure, in essence the new structure bears a refuting relationship against the old structure. Still, the rational factors of the old structure must still be



carried on in the new structure. Besides, while the old structure still plays its role, the objects of destruction must, within a stated scope of time, be sustained in the same body. Because of this, the reform of the socialist production relations and of the upper structure may in essence be said to be revolutionary and critical, but the form to be taken should be a gradual one and requires a sufficient period of time and a rather prolonged procedure. This should be a theoretical basis for the contention that in a socialist society, the production relations and the upper structure can effect self-perfection.

In liaison with destruction and construction, there is still a problem of how to understand advance and retreat in the course of destruction and construction. Destruction and construction manifest the display of man's subjective capability and reflect man's understanding of the laws governing the objective movements and changes. Speaking as a whole, in the course of man's understanding of the world and rebuilding of the world, successes and failures are both unavoidable. Hence, in the course of destruction and construction, the phenomena of advance and retreat can be frequently seen. During the period of the democratic revolution, the party organized its military forces, resorted to the revolutionary war to overthrow the KMT's reactionary rule, and established the socialist new China. This was a phenomenon of advance in the course of destruction and construction. Since the founding of new China, in breaking the old and establishing the new, the course taken has mainly been one of advance. Unfortunately, because for a considerable time we have still erroneously insisted firmly on taking class struggle as the key link and have failed to make a strategic change in our work at the opportune time, and to concentrate our forces on developing the economy, progress of our country's four modernizations has been hindered. This in turn manifested the phenomenon of retreat in the course of destruction and construction. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have broken the practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot" in the economic structure, and both the cities and the countryside have universally enforced the economic contract responsibility system. This reform has greatly released the productive forces, developed the productive forces, and brought about a daily increase in the wealth of society and gradual improvement of the people's standard of living. All these facts have told us that advance and retreat in the course of destruction and construction constitute the procedure of the working of dialectical functions and precisely explain that movements of things possess the laws of a wave-like advance and a spiral-shaped rise.

/6091

CSO: 4005/888

'ETIQUETTE SONG OF THE YOUNG PIONEERS'

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 11, 1 Jun 87 inside back cover

["Etiquette Song of the Young Pioneers"--lyrics by Wang Sen [3769 2773] and music by Wang Yutian [3769 3786 3944]; first paragraph is editor's note]

[Text] On 4 April this year the Ministry of Culture, the National Educational Commission, the Ministry of Radio and Television, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China, the All-China Women's Federation, the China Federation of Music, and the National Commission of Art for Youths and Children jointly issued a circular on launching a movement for "singing good songs" among youths and children of the various nationalities of the nation. The circular also recommended to the youths and children of the nation 76 songs which reflect the ideological characteristics of youths and children of the various nationalities of the nation loving the fatherland, loving the people, loving labor, loving science, and loving socialism. These songs were those selected and given awards in the evaluation of songs of youths and children of the whole country held from 1982 to 1986. On the occasion of the 1 June Children's Festival, this magazine has published the text of the "Etiquette Song of the Young Pioneers," which was one of those songs given the first-class award.

In a gust of fresh morning air,

5 - | 3 0 | 6 - | 4 0 | 3.3 3 4 | 5 6 7 |

welcoming the sunlight and facing the team banner,

2 - | 1 0 | 5 3 3 3 | 2 1 7 2 | 1 - | 5 0 |

we raise high our right hand. Salute!

6 6 7 | 1.1 7 1 | 2 3 | 2 0 | 5 - | 3 0 |

Salute! People's interests rise above all,

(repeat)

Star-like torchlights throw their glaring lights in front,

2 1 | 6 0 | 5 5 5 | 1 5 | 1.5 1 2 | 3 - |

Salute! Salute! Holy oaths will be forever remembered.

5 - | 3 0 | 6 - | 4 0 | 3 3 4 | 5 5 6 7 | 2 - | 1 0 |

Communism leads us to victory.

3 3 3 4 | 5 5 5 5 | 6 6 | 7 2 | 1 - | 1 0 |

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September 10, 1987